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**From Siege to Emerging
Leisure Town: Chester's
Recovery from the Civil War,
1646-1745**

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Contents:

	Table of Figures	p.2
	Introduction	P4
Chapter One	Siege Destruction, Damage and Death	p.10
Chapter Two	Recovering from Disasters – Demography and Economy	p.37
Chapter Three	The Gentry Town – Architecture and Leisure	p.64
	Conclusion	p.94
	Bibliography	p.99
Appendix 1	Hemingway’s Original Map with Key	p.114
Appendix 1b	Table of Damage mentioned in Narratives by Geographical Location	p.115
Appendix 2	Frequency Table of Hearth Tax Returns by Ward	p.113
Appendix 3	Table of Freeman Occupations in Sectors and Sub-Sectors	p.118
Appendix 3a	Table of Freeman by Occupational Sector 1646-1745	p.119
Appendix 3b	Table of Data – Freeman Occupations	p.121

Figures:

Maps and Illustrations:

Figure 1	<i>Damage mentioned in Holme's Narrative, mapped onto Hemingway's Map</i>	17
2	<i>Damage mentioned in Cowper/Byron's narrative, mapped onto Hemingway</i>	18
3	<i>Damage mentioned in Lancaster and Malbon's accounts, mapped onto Hemingway</i>	19
4	<i>Chester Defensive Lines 1643-4, from Lewis and Thacker (ed)</i>	21
5	<i>Conjectural lines of defence and parliamentary siege works 1645-6, Lewis and Thacker</i>	27
6	<i>Breach in wall by Newgate</i>	30
7	<i>Walls by The Goblin's Tower</i>	31
8	<i>Extensive small shot damage can still be seen at Bonewaldesthorpe Tower</i>	32
9	<i>Bethlem Hospital</i>	49
10	<i>Blue Coat School, Chester, built in 1717</i>	49
11	<i>Origin of sellers at Chester horse markets 1660-1723, from Stobart, 'County, Town and Country'</i>	58
12	<i>Bridge House (right) with circular staircase up to original row level. Batenham Engraving (c.1816), from Hughes, Ancient Chester, Plate XV</i>	72
13	<i>11 Lower Bridge Street - interior shows the new room created in the enclosed building</i>	74
14	<i>11 Lower Bridge Street - entrance onto the row.</i>	74
15	<i>11 Lower Bridge Street - the row flanked by enclosed buildings.</i>	74
16	<i>Map of The Extent and Date of the Enclosure of the Rows</i>	75
17	<i>Booth Mansion, Watergate Street, c1700, a neoclassical refacing of the Rows</i>	78
18	<i>The Row retained by Booth Mansion, with classical pillars and arches</i>	78
19	<i>Batenham's engravings of Bridge Street, c1816, Plate XVIII - Bridge Street from Whitefriars</i>	80
20	<i>Batenham's Engravings of Bridge Street, c1816, Plate XIX – from Commonhall Street Plate XIX</i>	80
21	<i>Bear and Billet, 1664.</i>	81
22	<i>Dutch Houses, c1670s</i>	82
23	<i>Lambs' Row on Bridge Street</i>	82
24	<i>Plaque on Pemberton's Parlour</i>	89
25	<i>Classical features on the Row pillars and fencing, from Hughes, The Stranger's Handbook to Chester</i>	89
26	<i>Chester's Exchange building in neoclassical style, from Hughes, The Stranger's Handbook to Chester</i>	92

Tables:

Table 1	<i>Population sizes of provincial capitals and Chester from Wrigley, Urban Growth and Population Change</i>	39
2	<i>Chester Hearth Tax returns 1664 and 1672</i>	51
3	<i>Hearth Tax Returns 1664 and 1672</i>	65
4	<i>Dwelling-sizes of gentry, Chester, 1664-5 Alldridge, 'House and Household in Restoration Chester'</i>	66

Graphs:

Graph 1	<i>- Comparison of Freeman with Named and Unnamed Occupations by Percentage of Freeman Roll</i>	54
2	<i>Percentage of Leather Working Occupations listed in Freeman Rolls, 1646-1745</i>	56
3	<i>Percentage of Processing Occupations listed in Freeman Rolls 1646-1745</i>	56
4	<i>Percentage of freemen involved in buying/selling 1646-1745</i>	61
5	<i>Percentage of freeman involved in making/selling 1646-1745</i>	61
6	<i>Percentage of freemen with 'luxury' occupations in Freeman Rolls 1646-1745</i>	62
7	<i>Percentage of Freeman identifying as Gentry 1646-1745</i>	65
8	<i>Percentage of freemen occupations involved in Building 1646-1745</i>	70

Introduction

By the end of 1647, Chester had been reduced to a damaged and diseased shell, suffering from the twin effects of civil war siege and plague. Reports stated that most of the capable working population had fled leaving only the poor and dying.¹

However, only thirty years later Chester began to see marked improvements, with fashionable architecture, growing marketing and port trade, and a wealthy population of urban gentry. How the city was able to recover from its low state towards a comfortable and prosperous new identity – the ‘leisure town’ – will be explored in this dissertation.²

Urban historiography orders towns during this period according to population or industrial competitiveness, an anachronistic focus based on viewing urban development through the retrospective lens of the industrial revolution. Chester does not easily fit into the models created by urban historians, too small to be a provincial capital; too important to be just another market or industrial town, with many more features of a capital than a county town.³ It is also not one of Borsay’s spas despite having many of the features of his ‘Urban Renaissance’, especially in terms of leisure and architecture.⁴ Clark and Slack also describe a ‘crisis and order’ theory

¹ Anon, ‘The Plague at Chester, 1647’, *Cheshire Sheaf*, 1st series, Vol. 1, October 1878, no.279, p.82

² ‘Leisure town’ is a term coined in Angus McInnes, ‘The Emergence of a Leisure Town: Shrewsbury 1660-1760’ *Past & Present*, No. 120 (Aug., 1988), pp.53-87 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/650922>> [accessed 09-11-2018]

³ Peter Clark (ed), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800*, (London, Hutchinson, 1985), p.19; Peter Clark, Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1976), p.31; Christopher Chalkin, *The Rise of the English Town 1650-1850*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001)

⁴ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, (Oxford University Press, 1989)

which places towns in a narrative of stagnation and crisis, followed by renewal.⁵ However, this too is not a perfect fit for Chester, which shows more continuity before and after the war, even despite the challenges it faced.⁶ This dissertation will consider where Chester fits in the current models, and will argue that during the century after the siege and plague, Chester is in a state of transition. It cannot fit into the models as it moves flexibly to exploit existing capital such as infrastructure and reputation, whilst developing its economy in a variety of directions. From 1646-1745, Chester is focused on finding a new identity; attracting a new population of urban gentry; rebuilding its urban environment to reflect fashion; and creating new economic sectors such as retail and luxury goods. Because of this transitional state, Chester will not develop a real identity until after 1745, after which it most accurately reflects McInnes' 'leisure town', a town focused on entertaining its resident and visiting gentry at the expense of any form of basic industry.⁷

This dissertation will consider three stages of Chester's development. The first chapter will make a detailed study of the damage caused by the civil war and the subsequent plague. It will assess some limitations to the current writing, including the use of secondary accounts of the events. The study will then use contemporary narratives to map the damage, as well as differentiating between defensive damage, mainly in the suburbs, and offensive damage, generally within the walls. It will identify two main features that saved Chester from complete destruction – the lack of

⁵ Robert Tittler, 'Recent Writing on Early Modern British Urban History (c. 1540–1720)', *History Compass* 2 (2004) BI 070, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.070>> [accessed 29-05-19] p.1

⁶ Knowles, Philip Knowles, 'Continuity and change in urban culture; a case study of two provincial towns, Chester and Coventry c.1600-c.1750', p.31 (PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2001) <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.697037>> [accessed 30-10-18] p.31

⁷ Angus McInnes, *The English Town 1660-1760*, (London, The Historical Association, 1980), p.57

serious fire, and prior building projects finished at the start of the 17th century.⁸ Both of these factors gave Chester a chance to rebuild after serious bombardment.

However, more damaging was the onset of plague in 1647 which led to approximately 2000 deaths. This will also be studied and its impact assessed.

Chapter Two sees a phase of recovery built on demographic change and economic growth. The chapter will first explore the various theoretical models mentioned above, and why Chester is not a good fit, focusing especially on Clark and Slack, Borsay and McInnes. It will then study an important feature in Chester's restitution, the city's ability to deal with large numbers of poor migrants. It will assess this issue in light of current thought on early modern poor relief and charity, as well as using hearth tax returns and parish records to consider where the poor – which surged into the city after the plague – went. The chapter will then use a close study of freemen rolls to chart the progression of various occupations, including traditional industries like leather, as well as newer areas like luxury goods. It will discuss the reasons for the decline of traditional industry and the rise of retail, whilst also studying areas that continued to do well both sides of the war, including marketing and port trade. It will also consider the judgements historians have made about the city, including those that have suggested Chester to be in chronic decline during this period, and how, rather than focus on industrialization or specialization, the city was happy to concentrate on catering to a growing consumer base of wealthy visitors and residents.⁹

⁸ Stephen Porter, *Destruction in the English Civil Wars*, (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1994), p.51; Andrew Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p.77-94

⁹ Nick Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline: Population, Migration and Economy in Early Modern Chester' in *English Towns in Decline 1350-1800*, edited by M. Reed, Working Papers No. 1, (Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester, 1986)

Chapter Three will continue this theme, exploring the rise of the urban gentry, who they were and how they influenced the changes that occurred after the Restoration. It will look at Chester's physical rebuilding, charting a rise in building occupations; a shift away from timber towards brick and tile; and new influences that transformed the built environment from vernacular to neo-classical. Whilst far from wholesale, individual projects began to shift the city's environment to a more fashionable streetscape, following trends first seen in London.¹⁰ However, Chester sustained its own individuality by maintaining the Rows around the cross, whilst allowing enclosure to occur further out of the centre.¹¹ This chapter will assess the reasons this occurred, and will set out a range of possibilities, including civic identity; the influence of wealth; the complicated multiple ownerships of the buildings by the cross; and the desire to maintain a cohesive street view.¹²

It will then study the leisure facilities the gentry enjoyed at this time, with two main themes. The first examines the gentry as agents in their own change. Rather than a city catering to the gentry, the elite were instrumental in these developments, acting to build new and fashionable homes; working together to rebuild and pave the walls, and create a new Exchange building; as well as using their spending power to drive new luxury retail and leisure facilities, such as newly laid out walks and assembly rooms. The second theme is again one of transition, the city existed in an in-between state, using old traditional civic ceremonies alongside new polite activities. Chester is

¹⁰ Peter Borsay, 'The Restoration Town' in Lionel KJ Glassey (ed) *The Reigns of Charles II and James VII & II* (Problems in Focus), (London, Palgrave, 1997), p.172

¹¹ Andrew Brown, *The Rows of Chester: The Chester Rows Research Project*, (London, English Heritage, 1999), p.97; Emily Cockayne, 'Petitions, neighbours, and civic planning in England, 1670–1730' in *Mixing the Private and the Public in the City*, edited by Kristo Vesikansa; Aalto University publication series ART + DESIGN + ARCHITECTURE 13/2018 (Espoo, Aalto University, 2018) <<https://aaltodoc.aalto.fi/handle/123456789/37052>> [accessed 07-07-19]

¹² Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.61

able to accommodate the old and the new because it has not at this stage entirely chosen its new identity. Its wealthy residents enjoy coffee and assemblies, as well as cock-fighting and racing.¹³ This is also the result of continuity before and after the war. The wealthy attended the races before and after, as well as bowls and walking the walls. For leisure there is no clear divide; however, by the late 18th century the facilities had grown and were more sophisticated, but were able to build on existing foundations.

This dissertation will place Chester within the early modern world on its own terms. Primarily interested in the economic, demographic and cultural changes that occurred during this century, it will not focus on the political intrigues of the city, already covered in detail by Emma Whinton.¹⁴ Instead it seeks to identify the limitations of comparing and contrasting towns at this time and concludes that Chester was able to recover from the war precisely because it struck its own path without the need to compete with its rapidly industrializing neighbours. It aims to firstly set out the task the city faced, the damage it sustained and the deaths that occurred. Although not unique in needing to recover from the effects of the war, it was the result of its own secure civic identity that allowed the elite to put the city back on a stable path. In focusing on demographic changes, this study will show that previous studies have often neglected the second side of the coin, focusing on the rise of the wealthy but neglecting to address the movement and treatment of the poor. It will then highlight the elite's own power of agency in transforming the city to

¹³ Clark (ed), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800*, p.234-5

¹⁴ Emma Whinton, 'Politics and Culture in the City 1660-1790: The Corporation and the Development of Chester' (PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, 2000) <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.251088>> [accessed 30-10-18], p.136

cater for its own class. Rather than seeing the leisure town as solely a multitude of traders and innkeepers rushing to service the rich, it sees that, through political and economic influence, the gentry were able to make their own entertainments, environment and events. In this way the leisure town was a gentry town, run by and for the urban gentry, reflecting their tastes, fashions and interests.

However, this study also has an overarching theme of transition. By 1745 Chester is not fully formed, it is still an *emerging* leisure town. Subsequent developments in the latter half of the 18th century including purpose-built assembly rooms, theatres, libraries and societies, would eventually complete the transformation. This study instead intends to focus on the movement from one state to the other, and deal with the changes the city had to undergo to reach that threshold. It covers an area that perhaps rests between two chapters in the history of the city, the area between civil war stronghold and polite county town, and in so doing explore Chester's formation of a new identity.

Chapter One – Siege Destruction, Damage and Death

To chart the progression of Chester from its involvement in the Civil War to its status as a 'leisure town', it is necessary to view the city at and in the few years after surrender. Contemporary accounts show considerable damage caused by artillery bombardments designed to sap morale and force surrender.¹⁵ Destruction was equally wrought by the besieged; burning and spoiling the suburbs in order to render them useless to the attacking troops.¹⁶ However, destruction was not comprehensive and, despite the arresting nature of administrative confusion during the Commonwealth, the city was able to recover during the late decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ This in part may have been due both to the lack of serious fire damage despite attacks by grenadoes, and also to the new and substantially improved housing stock built in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.¹⁸ Following the siege Chester was also subject to a devastating plague in 1647 which arguably had a greater long-term impact on the ability of the city to recover and regain its previous prosperity, causing disruption to trade, civic governance and its demographic structure.¹⁹

Studies of the siege of Chester have concentrated on military tactics and weaponry; civic administration during and after the siege; as well as the impact the siege had on

¹⁵ RN Dore, *The Civil Wars in Cheshire*, (Chester, Cheshire Community Council, 1966), p.53

¹⁶ Randle Holme III, 'Narration of the Siege of Chester' in Rupert Morris, *The Siege of Chester 1643-1646*, (Chester, 1924, GR Griffith Ltd), p.204; John Broster, *History of the Siege of Chester during the Civil Wars in the Time of King Charles I*, (London, R. Faulder, c1800), p.24

¹⁷ G. C. F. Forster, 'Civic Government in Chester, 1642–1660', *Northern History*, 37:1, (2000) p.96, <DOI: 10.1179/007817200790178058> [accessed 24-11-18]

¹⁸ Stephen Porter, *Destruction in the English Civil Wars*, p.51; Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p.77-94

¹⁹ CP Lewis and AT Thacker (ed), 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Demography', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography*, (London, British History Online, 2003), pp. 90-97; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp90-97> [accessed 10-06-19].

the wider Civil War.²⁰ Limited work has focused on the aftermath of Chester's siege, in terms of destruction and death. This study will consider the available contemporary sources to create a picture of Chester as it stood once the siege and plague had ended in order to better understand the work needed to re-establish its economic and social place in the region. It will focus on military strategy only in as far as it impacts the damage done to the city, nor will it provide a comprehensive narrative of the siege as this has been covered in previous works.²¹ Instead, it will firstly discuss the 'grapevine' of early sources used in modern writing and their value; it will then map the damage mentioned in contemporary accounts, exploring particular areas and drawing a distinction between defensive and offensive damage. It will then examine the ensuing plague outbreak in 1647. In this way it aims to show Chester as it stood and the scope of recovery it had to undergo.

Narratives of the siege often rely on first-hand accounts by Nathaniel Lancaster and Lord John Byron; eyewitness accounts found in the collections of Randle Holme III, the Cowper family, and William Brereton's Letter Books; as well as eyewitness sketches by Alice Thornton and Parliamentarian soldier, Thomas Malbon.²²

However, even modern studies continue to rely on Joseph Hemingway's *History of*

²⁰ Morris, *The Siege of Chester*; Peter Young, Wilfred Emberton, *Sieges of the Great Civil War, 1642-1646*, (London, Bell and Hyman Ltd., 1978); G.C.F. Forster, 'Civic Government in Chester, 1642-1660'; Dore, *The Civil Wars in Cheshire*; John Barratt, *The Great Siege of Chester*, (Stroud, Tempus Publishing, 2003)

²¹ See Barratt, *The Great Siege of Chester*; Morris, *The Siege of Chester*; C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker, 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: The civil war and interregnum, 1642-60', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography*, (London, British History Online, 2003), pp. 115-125. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp115-125>> [accessed 26 July 2019]; Young and Emberton, *Sieges of the Great Civil War*.

²² Nathaniel Lancaster in 'Sir William's Brereton's Letter sent to the Honorable William Lenthall Esq: Speaker of the Honorable House of Commons', (original work published in 1645), Early English Books Online, <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:1

the City of Chester (published 1831) which mainly uses Lord Byron's and Cowper's and John Broster's narratives, as well as Holme; and George Ormerod's *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, (published 1819), which has become the main source for Dr William Cowper's siege narrative taken from his *Parentalia* MS.²³ Both works by important antiquarians contain copious amounts of primary source information; they are, however, still secondary sources with clear anachronistic commentaries on the events in question.²⁴ As early antiquarians Ormerod's and Hemingway's purpose was markedly different from the modern historian, with a desire to gather as much data as possible with less consideration for its ultimate interpretive value.²⁵ These studies are useful where they have gathered no longer available or difficult to obtain manuscripts, but should not be regarded as alternatives to the actual primary sources.

Narratives found within Randle Holme's, John Broster's and Cowper's collections are also problematic, often quoted as having been written by them with no concrete evidence for this. Whilst all had royalist families living in the city at the time it is

13465> [accessed 19-11-2018]; Lord John Byron, 'John Byron's Account of the Siege of Chester 1645-1646', in Rev. Canon M. H. Ridgway, and B. K. Berry, *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th Series, Vol. 6, no.245-258, Jan 1974, pp.1-25; Randle Holme III, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.203-205, and 215-286; Dr William Cowper in George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, Vol. 1, (London, Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, And Jones, 1819), pp.203-209; Broster, John, *History of the Siege of Chester during the Civil Wars in the Time of King Charles I*, (London, R. Faulder, c1800); RN Dore (ed.), *The Letter Books of William Brereton Vol. II*, June 18th 1645 - February 1st 1645/6, (Stroud, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1990); Alice Thornton, *The autobiography of Mrs. Alice Thornton, of East Newton, Co. York*, (London, Surtees Society, 1875), <<https://archive.org/details/autobiographyofm00thorrich/page/n7>> [accessed 26-07-19], pp.32-8; Thomas Malbon, in James Hall (ed) *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the Adjacent Counties*, (Cheshire, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1889), pp.181-201
²³ Joseph Hemingway, *History of the City of Chester from its Foundation to the Present Day, with an account of its antiquities, curiosities, local customs and peculiar immunities, and a Concise Political History*, Vol I-II, (Chester, J. Fletcher, 1831); Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, Vol I-III.

²⁴ Despite protesting his neutrality, Hemingway writes: 'The pernicious councils pursued by the infatuated Charles, and the obstinacy with which he perservered in them, produced first, a most marked dissatisfaction in the parliament and, ultimately, a total alienation of their affection and allegiance.' (Hemingway, *History of the City of Chester*, p.163)

²⁵ Rosemary Sweet, 'The production of urban histories in eighteenth-century England', *Urban History*, vol 23, pt.2 Aug. 1996 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0963926800011913>> [accessed 27-07-19]

unclear who wrote these narratives and whether the events were seen first-hand or informed a kind of reportage from other citizens around them. It has become a form of shorthand to address the Harleian MS 2155 as Randle Holme's 'Narrative of the Siege'. Writers such as John Barratt state that Randle Holme 'describes [the] impact' or gives information 'According to' Holme. However, Morris describes the narrative as compiled 'from information recorded by eye witnesses in the city'.²⁶ Indeed, Morris notes that the *Narrative* is not always written in the same handwriting; and occasionally the style of writing changes from straightforward description to florid, poetic language.²⁷ With this uncertainty, and the fact that Holme could not have witnessed everything as he would need to have been in different parts of the city simultaneously, this study will consider the Holmes *Narrative* as a form of early journalism contemporaneous to the events but with the attendant issues of bias and exaggeration. In a similar manner, William Cowper (1701-1767), an antiquarian whose work was extensively used by Ormerod, gathered his narrative from family records.²⁸ However, like Holme, it is unclear whether this was written by one of Cowper's ancestors or from other eyewitness accounts. Ormerod gives a direct transcription of Cowper's account, whereas John Broster (c.1738-1822) published his *History of the Siege of Chester, during the Civil Wars in the Time of King Charles I*, based on Cowper's manuscript, generally altering the calendar style to a more straightforward narrative.²⁹ It must be remembered that both Cowper and Broster are both retellings of earlier accounts, just in different styles.

²⁶ Barrett, *The Great Siege of Chester* (p.135, p.141); Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.215

²⁷ Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.224; an example of poetic language is Oct 30th 1645, where the besiegers send 'diverse love letters, stuff full of fair promises as they think will ravish our resolves into a tame submission – we send back their shafts with an answer made of wildfire – that they might see by their houses how hot our love was to them...' (Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.230)

²⁸ Knowles, Phil, Cowper, William, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://doi.org.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/6512>> [accessed 26/07/19]

²⁹ Broster, *History of the Siege of Chester*

Political bias is also an important consideration. Cowper's and Holme's ancestors were royalist sympathisers with influential positions within the city's authorities.³⁰

Royalist Holmes was able to maintain good relations with the Commonwealth authorities after the siege, quickly taking the Negative Oath and appointed by William Brereton to murenger.³¹ Cowper and Broster had royalist families within the walls both of whom had losses during the siege, Cowper losing a family member during an engagement at Boughton, and Broster losing a substantial amount of property.³² Alice Thornton's family had royalist sympathies, whereas Nathaniel Lancaster, Thomas Malbon and William Brereton were staunchly parliamentarian.

Because of the uncertainty about the ultimate source of some of these accounts and their political leanings this study has attempted to corroborate events with other sources, including Assembly records, maps, other narratives and surveys after the siege. Where this has not been possible it would be unwise to entirely dismiss these documents, however it is equally important to consider how far these accounts can be trusted.

Rebuilding Chester

To examine the consequences of the siege destruction it is necessary to acknowledge an important pre-war development. Chester had benefited from a

³⁰ RJS Adolph, 'Holme, Randle' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://doi.org.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/13584>> [accessed 17-07-19]; Phil Knowles, 'Cowper, William' (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://doi.org.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/6512>> [accessed 17-07-19]

³¹ Adolph, 'Holme, Randle', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; T. Hughes, 'A Chester Antiquary in Trouble', *Cheshire Sheaf*, 1st series, vol 2, April 1880. P.72

³² Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, Vol. 1, pp.293-4; William Ferguson Irvine, 'A Royalist Alderman', *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol 1, May 1896, p.49

national economic upturn and a large programme of rebuilding began at the turn of the 17th century, capitalizing on new wealth and replacing housing stock considered 'feeble and weake'.³³ Smaller properties were replaced, such as the Buttershops in Eastgate Street, with more complex and decorative buildings.³⁴ By c.1614-20, William Webb was able to describe the city thus: 'the streets, for the most part, are very fair and beautiful, the buildings on either side, especially towards the streets, of seemly proportion, and very neatly composed; whether of timber, whereof the most are builded; or of stone or brick...'³⁵ Earlier buildings were demolished and completely rebuilt, with 34% of modern row buildings possessing superstructures from this period, and another 5% having undergone major alterations or refacing at this time.³⁶ Archaeologists have found new merchant-class houses throughout the existing rows, an area which would undergo severe artillery fire during the siege.³⁷ That the buildings attacked were less than fifty years old and built to a high standard may have contributed to their survival and of the city as a whole. It might have been more difficult to save buildings that were already considered ruinous and older 'than the memory of man'.³⁸

Mapping Destruction

³³ Andrew Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p.77

³⁴ Keith Matthews, *Excavations at Chester: The Evolution of the Heart of the City: Investigations at 3-15 Eastgate Street* (Chester, Chester City Council, 1995), p. 67

³⁵ William Webb, 'A Description of the City and County Palatine of Chester', in King and Others, *The History of Cheshire containing King's Vale Royal* Vol. I, (Chester, John Poole, 1778) p.128 <<https://archive.org/details/historycheshire00webgoog/page/n8>> [accessed 29/07/19]

³⁶ Brown, *The Rows in Chester*, p.77

³⁷ Dan Garner, *Excavations at Chester: 25 Bridge Street: Two Thousand Years of Urban Life in Microcosm*, (Chester, Chester City Council, 2008), p.414; Randle Holme in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.204

³⁸ Brown, *The Rows in Chester*, p.77. Greater attention to the city's building stock will be given in Chapter 3.

War damage in Chester fell into two main geographical areas – the suburbs, and within the walls (including the towers and walls themselves). The suburbs were repeatedly burned through defensive measures, whereas the rest of the city suffered artillery bombardments in an attempt, firstly to break in, and latterly, to break the city's morale.³⁹ Using the map printed in Hemingway, (mainly copied from John Broster), this study has mapped the damage mentioned in the narratives of Cowper, Byron, Holme, Malbon, and Lancaster (figures 1-3).⁴⁰ The maps show that Randle Holme's *Narrative* gives the most detailed account of losses; the other narratives have been combined along political lines to show where accounts overlap and where they differ.⁴¹

³⁹ Dore, *The Letter Books of William Brereton*, Vol. 1, p.2-3

⁴⁰ Hemingway, *History of the City of Chester*. The original map and key is in Appendix One.

⁴¹ A detailed table of damage based on these accounts can be found as Appendix 1b

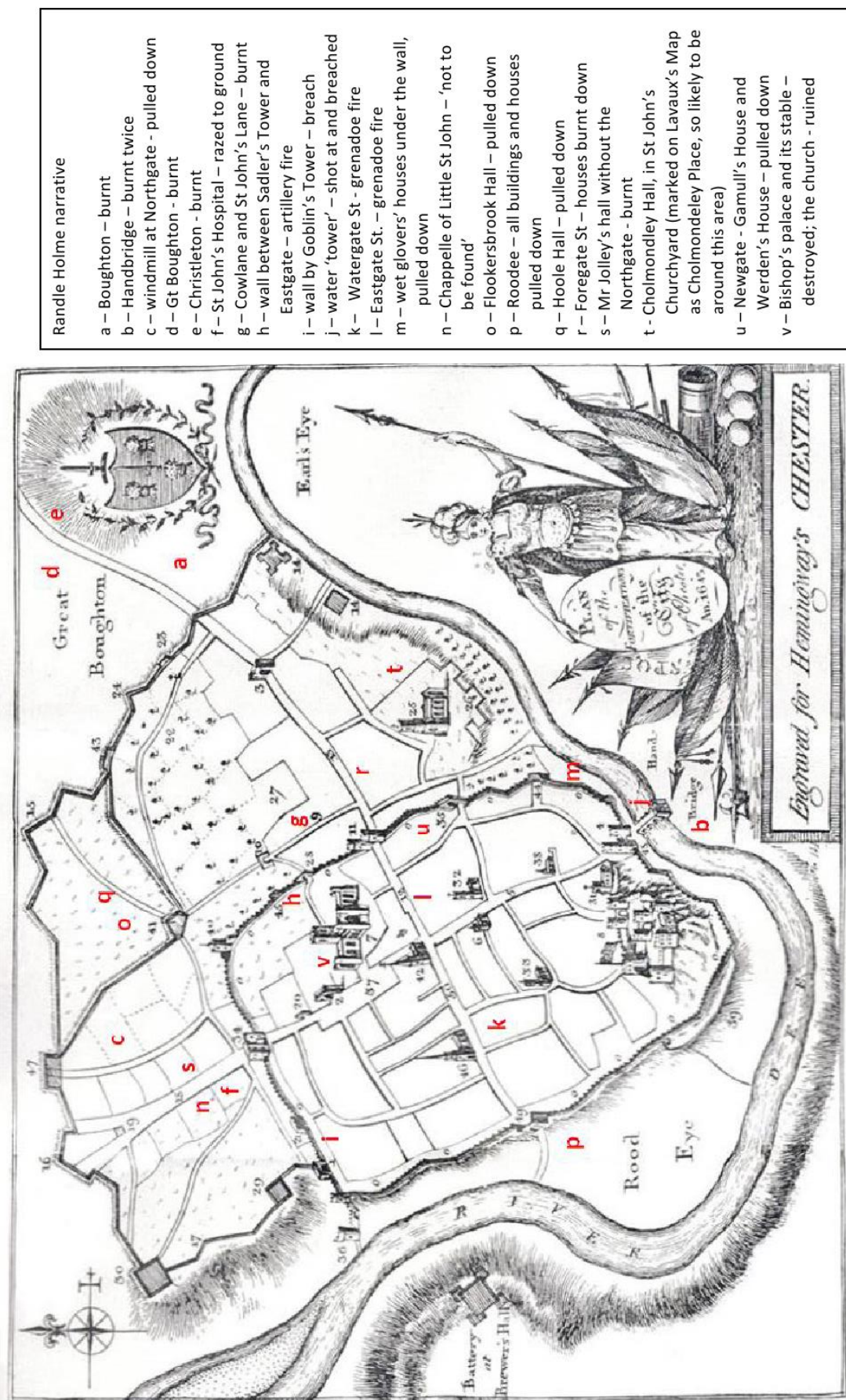
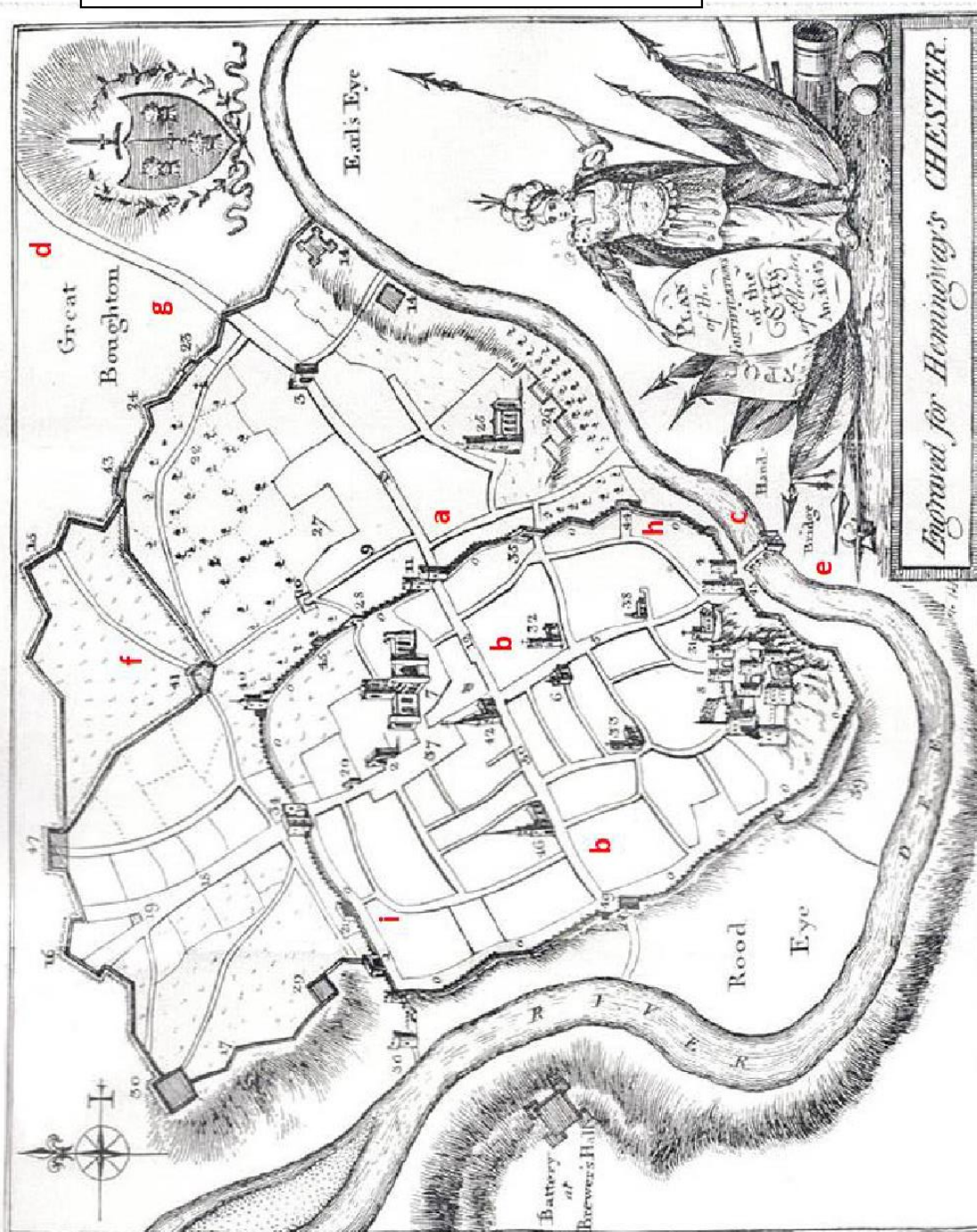


Figure 1 – Damage mentioned in Holme's Narrative, mapped onto Hemingway's map



Cowper/Byron narratives:

Byron:

- a – Suburbs outside Eastgate – burned with fire arrows
- b – Destruction of houses by grenades – location unstated – likely to be Watgate and Eastgate St.
- c – Water Tower over Bridgegate and Mills shot at

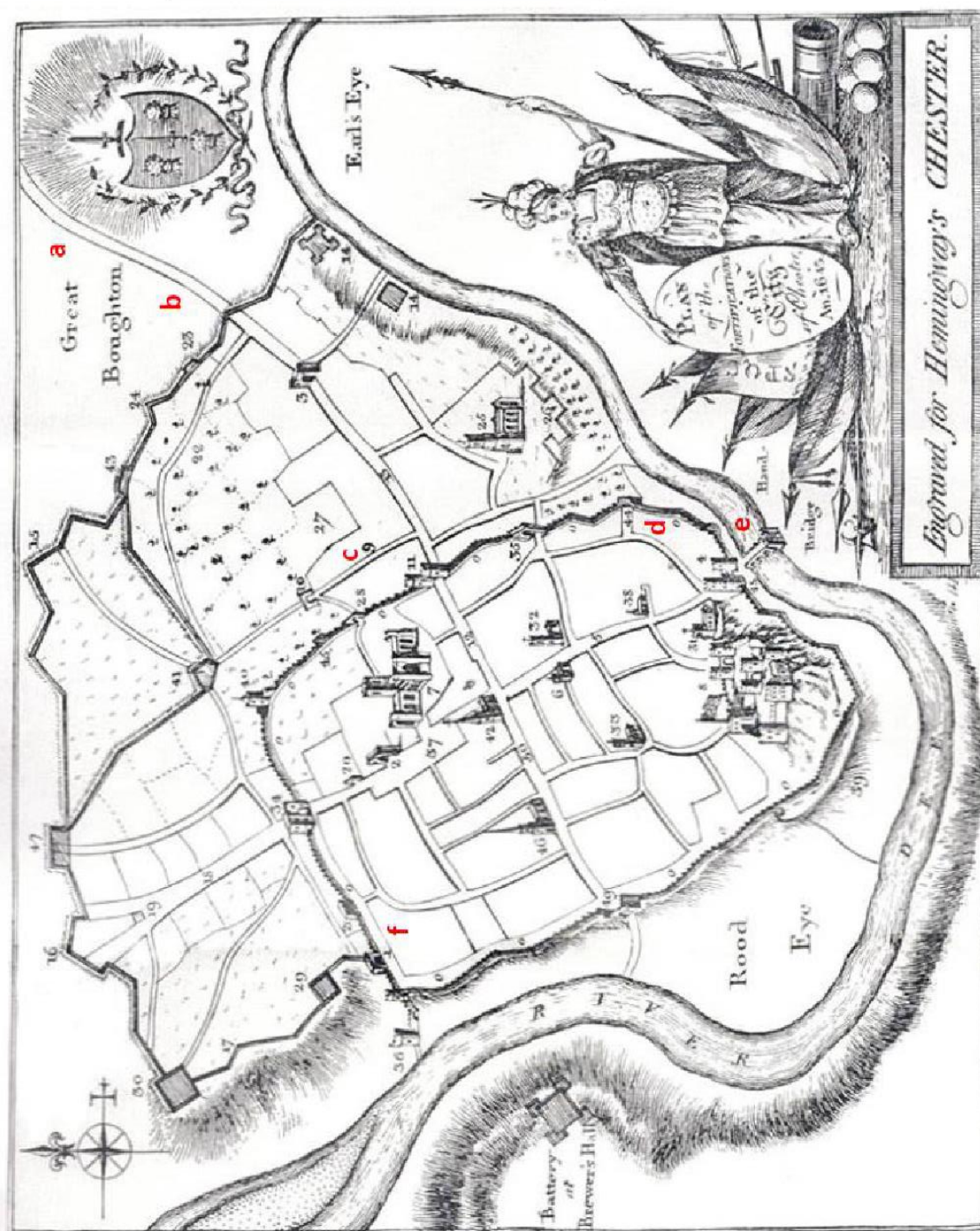
Cowper:

- d – Spital-Boughton chapel and houses – pulled down
- e – Handbridge – burnt down
- f – Flookersbrook Hall – burnt down
- g – Gt Boughton – burnt down

Byron and Cowper

- h – wall at Newgate – breached
- i – Goblin's Tower wall – breached

Figure 2 – Damage mentioned in Cowper/Byron's narrative, mapped onto Hemingway



Lancaster/Malbon narratives:

Lancaster –

- a – Christleton – burned
- b – Great Boughton – burned

Lancaster and Malbon –

- c – Cowlane and St. John's Lane – burnt
- d – wall by the Newgate – breached
- e – three mills spoiled and Water Tower battered
- f – battlements at Goblin Tower – beaten down

Figure 3 – Damage mentioned in Lancaster and Malbon's accounts, mapped onto Hemmingsway

The maps show agreement about the damage done to Greater Boughton, Boughton Spital and Christleton; and the two breaches in the walls. However, there are few areas where all of the narratives agree. The lack of agreement is most likely due to the nature of eye witness accounts which only address that which was seen personally; Thomas Malbon does not start his account until September 1645, by which time according to Holme's *Narrative* the Northgate area and Handbridge had already been burned and pulled down by Easter the same year.⁴² However, it is worth noting that the comprehensiveness of Holme's *Narrative* also supports the view that his account was a collection of witness statements, seen from all parts of the city at all times.

Suburbs:

Chester's earliest defensive lines encompassed much of the suburbs, including the Northgate area; Hoole as far as Flookersbrook and along Foregate Street and beyond towards Boughton (fig. 4). The broad nature of these defences would have a notable effect on how the suburbs were treated once the parliamentary troops broke through the Barrs gate and entered the Foregate area, in September 1645. The large shape of the defences may have been the result of reluctance from the citizens to give up their property in the suburbs.⁴³ In consequence, as the parliamentarians entered the suburbs, large parts of it were fired after the citizens had retreated into

⁴² Malbon, in James Hall (ed) *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the Adjacent Counties*, p.181-2; Holmes, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.222

⁴³ Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, p.8

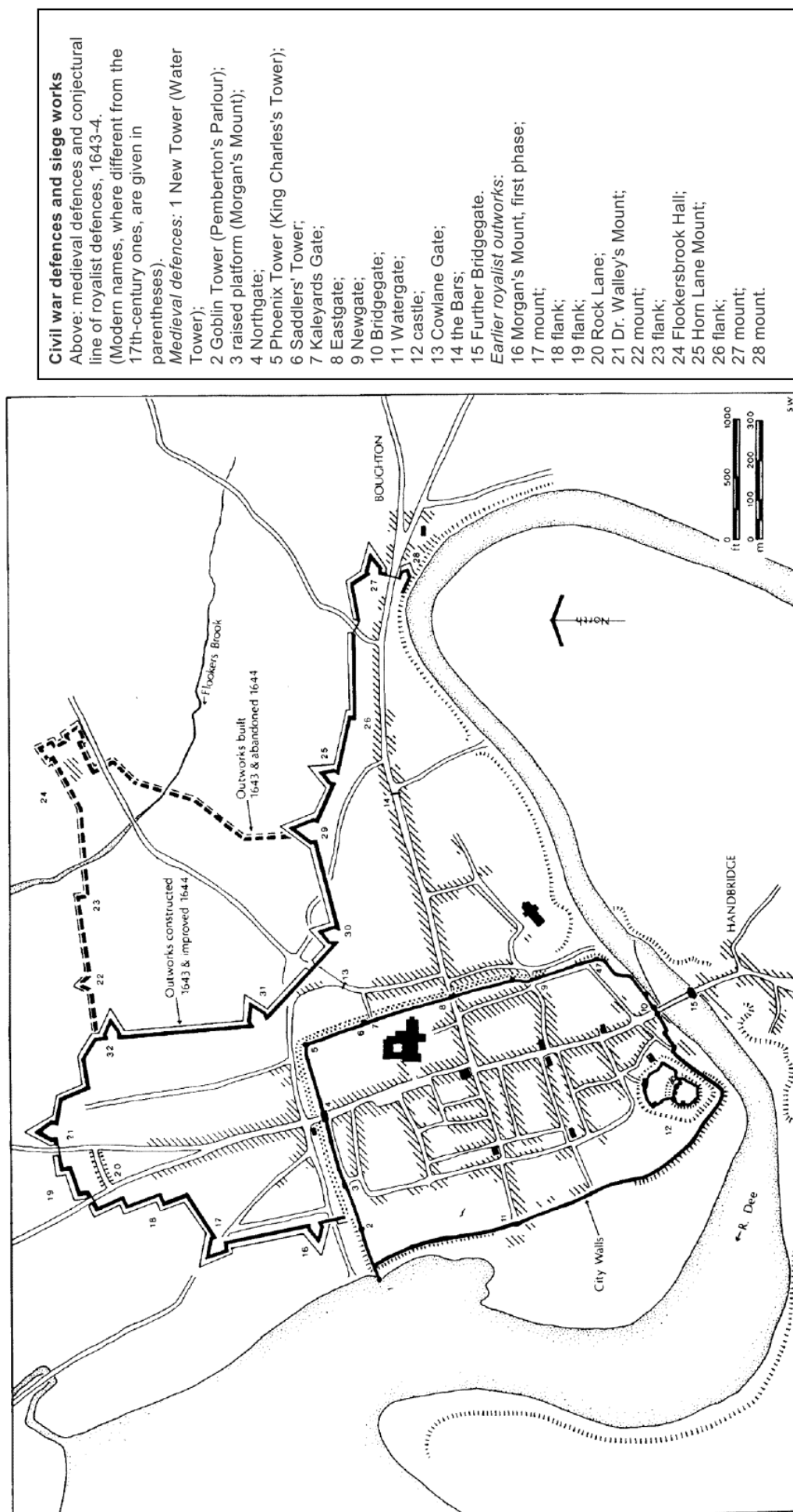


Figure 4 - Chester Defensive Lines 1643-4, from Lewis and Thacker (ed) *British History Online*

the walls. The destruction of the suburbs, to rob the besiegers of possible cover and resources, was a regular part of military strategy during this era, and, if done in sufficient time, did not have to result in widespread destruction seen in Chester. Porter points out that if done whilst the defenders were in control of the suburbs, wooden houses could even be dismantled, their materials stored and rebuilt after the war or in another location.⁴⁴ However this was often not possible due to the resistance of residents; which appears to have strongly influenced Chester's destruction.⁴⁵ Byron bemoaned a lack of defensive action by Cestrians, remarking that he sent 'three desperate fellows' out at night to burn the suburbs but they were impeded by the citizens who 'could not endure to see their houses on fire'.⁴⁶ Using the cover of night appears to have been as much about slipping past residents as escaping the parliamentarians. Indeed, resistance may not have come just from ordinary residents but from more powerful men with property in the suburbs, such as mayor Charles Walley, Richard Broster and Sir Thomas Smith, who all lost substantial income from the burning down of the suburbs.⁴⁷

Handbridge

Holme's *Narrative* mentions that Handbridge was burnt down twice, firstly in November 1643 when the area was pulled down and fired 'to the ruin of some

⁴⁴ Stephen Porter, 'The Destruction of Urban Property in The English Civil Wars, 1642-1651', (unpublished Phd thesis, King's College London, 1983), p.58, <<https://kcipure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>> [accessed 20-06-19]

⁴⁵ Porter, 'The Destruction of Urban Property in the English Civil Wars' p.57;

⁴⁶ Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, p.8

⁴⁷ The cases of Broster and Smith are expanded upon below. *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, Vol. 1 Aug. 1896, p.70-72; 3rd series, Vol. 1, May 1896, p.49-50

hundred people'.⁴⁸ About a year later in March 1645, Handbridge was burned again as the attacking forces 'pillaged' the area:

'After which the Town of Handbridge was made another Treboath [burnt town], being burnt by the command of the Governor Lord Byron, to prevent their nesting there...' ⁴⁹

This suggests that 1644 witnessed rebuilding, replacing what had been burned the first time. Despite orders, the residents continued to live their lives and, perhaps, the first taking down of Handbridge had indeed seen some property stored and saved from destruction to be reconstructed as soon as they were able. The second burning and the approaching parliamentary troops pillaging the area probably led to those residents finally giving up and retreating behind the city walls.

Evidence of loss can be seen in the Composition papers of several of the city's gentry. Although these papers – as petitions for special treatment from sequestration or fines – may show exaggeration (in particular the claims that many gentlemen did no harm or showed neutrality to the parliamentary troops), the catalogue of damage done to the property was probably easily confirmed through inspections and therefore can be generally trusted to show actual damage, although valuations of lost property or destroyed buildings may be more suspect.⁵⁰ Many petitions claimed a reduction in property value and rent income. Although a comprehensive survey of damage through the Composition Committee is beyond the scope of this study, there are several cases that involve the suburbs and the losses incurred.

⁴⁸ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.219

⁴⁹ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.222-3

⁵⁰ See William Sparke, *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 18, Dec. 1921, p.104; George Byrom, *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 1, Oct 1896, pp.97-99, amongst others

Sir Thomas Smith and his son claimed that he had an estate in Handbridge and Claverton worth £100p.a. 'before the troubles'. The papers state:

'...his houses in Chester for which he had compounded, many of them were either pulled down or burnt, and were yielding no rents nor would they until they were repaired – he considered his rents were lowered by these damages £35 a year.'⁵¹

Richard Broster claimed a substantial loss including £2500 in goods lost from the suburbs. With fifty signatures from other citizens to support his claims, he argued that many of his houses had been burnt to the ground.⁵² His supporters stated:

'...wee doe hereby further Certifye that the said Mr. Broster in the tyme of the Seaggies against Chester lost by fire several fine Inn houses and other howses in the Suburbs wch were burnt to the ground of the yearlie valewe of fower score pounds...'⁵³

In 1650, church surveys showed that 65% of sites in Handbridge were vacant spaces, evidence of severe damage that had not yet been rectified.⁵⁴

The Dee Mills and the Water Tower on the River Dee were also attacked, but conflicting reports in the narratives make it unclear what damage was done. Byron notes that attempts to burn down the mills failed during the autumn of 1645.⁵⁵

Holme's *Narrative* puts this at October 24th, where thirteen great shot are aimed at the mills but 'do little hurt', except for the deaths of two men. However, the next day,

⁵¹ *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 1, Aug 1895, no. 77, p.71

⁵² *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 1, May 1896, p.49-50

⁵³ *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 1, May 1896, p.50

⁵⁴ Porter, 'The Destruction of Urban Property in the English Civil Wars' p.205

⁵⁵ Byron in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, p.16

the Water Tower was breached through repeated artillery fire by cannon.⁵⁶ In his composition petition Broster affirms the loss of the Water Tower 'wch were greate Benefite unto him and wch were battered downe.'⁵⁷ However, on 2nd November, three deserters told Brereton's troops that the Water Tower *and* three mills were all 'spoiled'.⁵⁸ Malbon also states that on 25th October the 'walke mylles' were burned, and broke two of the corn mills on the 26th October.⁵⁹ The destruction of the Walkers or fullers mills was confirmed by Holme's *Narrative*, as well as a 1646 petition from the Company of Clothworkers and Walkers to parliament about their conflagration.⁶⁰ However, the outcome of the corn mills is less clear and probably survived as their inclusion might be expected in Holme's *Narrative*, alongside the Walkers Mills.

Greater Boughton, Spittle Boughton and Christleton

Amongst the first areas to come under attack were the suburbs of Spital Boughton, Greater Boughton and Christleton. As the area Brereton first launched his attack in July 1643, the chapel at Spittle Boughton and surrounding properties were quickly pulled down. According to Holme's *Narrative* they 'pulled down to the ground the Chappell there and the store barn against it, ruinated all the houses there, cut down the trees, and so levelled the hedges as the rebels could have no shelter on that

⁵⁶ Holme, in Morris, p.229-30

⁵⁷ *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 1, May 1896, p.50

⁵⁸ Lt. Col. Robert Venables and Capt. John Whitworth to Brereton, no. 806, (02-11-45) in Dore, *The Letter Books of William Brereton*, Vol. 1, p.202

⁵⁹ Malbon, in Hall (ed) *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the Adjacent Counties*, p.186

⁶⁰ Holme in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.204; CALS Assembly Files, c.1646 ZA/F/28/17

side.’⁶¹ This is affirmed by Lancaster and Cowper.⁶² However, the bells in the chapel were saved and one was rehung at St. Mary’s Church.⁶³

After Brereton’s troops are forced to retreat from Boughton due to the arrival of Prince Maurice, the area and Christleton are burned, according to Holme’s *Narrative*, in revenge for treachery.⁶⁴ However, it is as likely to have been burned for defensive reasons, to prevent the attackers from again using barns and houses for shelter, as they had previously.⁶⁵

Charles Walley, in his composition petition, pleads that his house and outhouse, worth £140, in Boughton had been burnt down to the ground.⁶⁶ Also the hospital of St Giles, Boughton was destroyed and, unlike St John’s hospital in the Northgate, was not rebuilt.⁶⁷

Northgate Area

The Northgate suburbs were destroyed in parallel to Boughton. In 1643 a windmill had already been pulled down as attackers used it to shoot from.⁶⁸ When the besiegers retreated from Prince Maurice in February 1644, the prince instructed the

⁶¹ Holmes, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.218

⁶² Nathaniel Lancaster in ‘Sir William’s Brereton’s Letter sent to the Honorable William Lenthal’, p.20; Cowper in Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, p. 204

⁶³ Porter, ‘The Destruction of Urban Property in The English Civil Wars, 1642-1651’, p.61

⁶⁴ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.222

⁶⁵ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.218

⁶⁶ Cheshire Sheaf, 3rd series, vol. 1, June 1896, no. 54, p.51-2

⁶⁷ A P Baggs and others, ‘Hospitals: St Giles, Chester’, in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 3*, ed. C R Elrington and B E Harris (London, 1980), pp. 178-180. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol3/pp178-180>> [accessed 31 July 2019].

⁶⁸ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.219

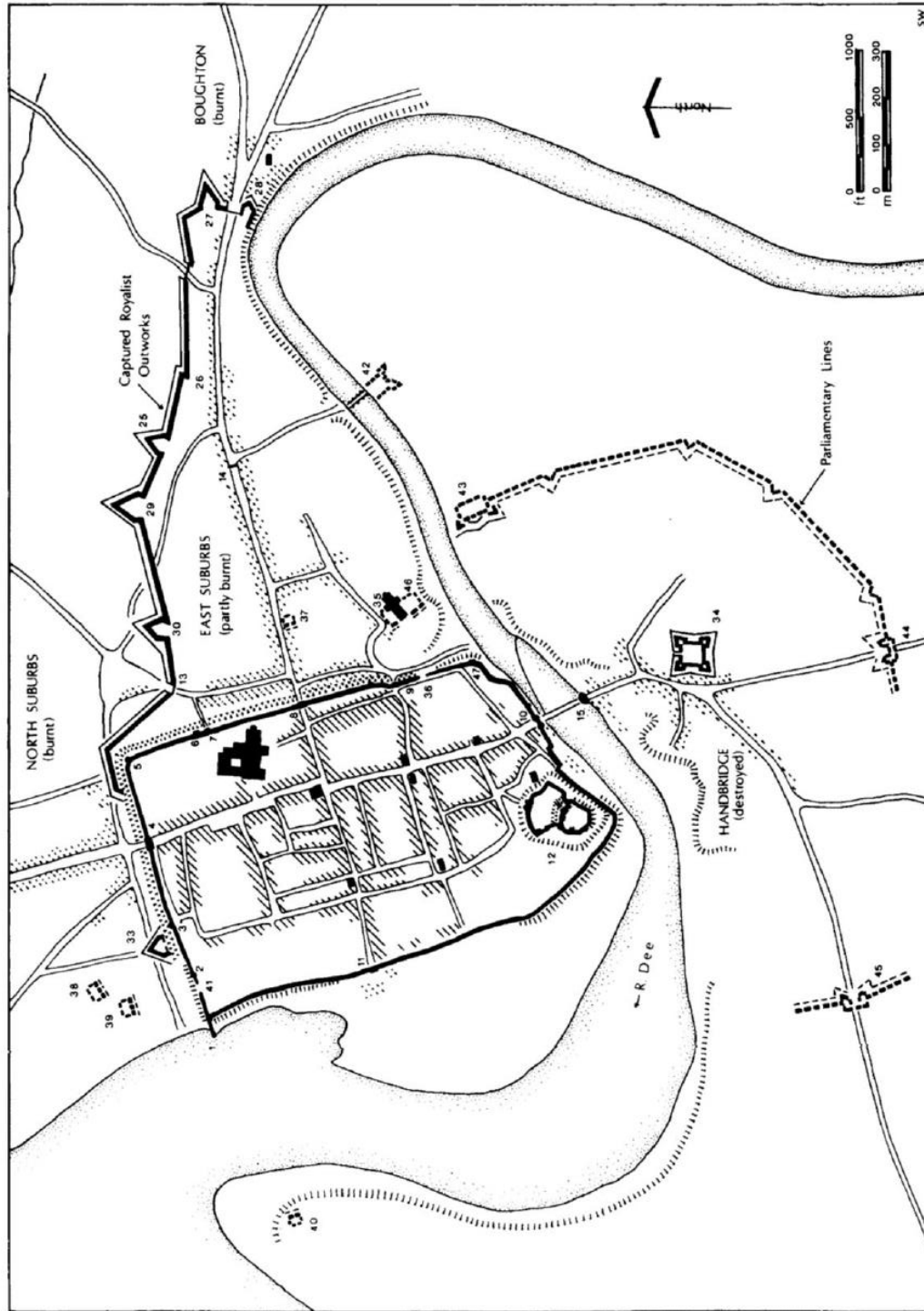


Figure 5 – Conjectural lines of defence and parliamentary siege works 1645-6, Lewis and Thacker (ed), *British History Online*

Civil war defences and siege works

Modern names, where different from the 17th-century ones, are given in parentheses.

Medieval defences:

- 1 New Tower (Water Tower);
 - 2 Goblin Tower (Pemberton's Parlour);
 - 3 raised platform (Morgan's Mount);
 - 4 Northgate;
 - 5 Phoenix Tower (King Charles's Tower);
 - 6 Saddlers' Tower; 7 Kaleyards Gate;
 - 8 Eastgate; 9 Newgate;
 - 10 Bridgegate; 11 Watergate;
 - 12 castle; 13 Cowlane Gate; 14 the Bars; 15 Further Bridgegate.
- Earlier royalist outworks:*
- 16 Morgan's Mount, first phase; 17 mount; 18 flank; 19 flank;
 - 20 Rock Lane; 21 Dr. Walley's Mount; 22 mount; 23 flank; 24 Flookersbrook Hall; 25 Horn Lane Mount; 26 flank; 27 mount; 28 mount.

Later royalist outworks:

- 29 Cockpit Mount; 30 Jousting Croft Mount;
- 31 Phoenix Tower Mount;
- 32 Reeds Mount; 33 Morgan's Mount, second phase; 34 Handbridge fort.

Parliamentarian siege works and breaches:

- 35 battery in St. John's churchyard;
- 36 breach near the Newgate;
- 37 battery in Foregate Street;
- 38 first northern battery;
- 39 second northern battery;
- 40 battery on Brewer's Hall hill;
- 41 breach near Goblin Tower;
- 42 bridge of boats and lower mount;
- 43 higher mount;
- 44 Eccleston Lane; 45 Hough Green;
- 46 battery in the bowling green;
- 47 Barnaby's Tower.

defensive lines be pulled tighter to the city which exposed the Northgate area to occupation (fig 5). Because of this it was burned in the same manner as Boughton, losing St John's Hospital, Jollye's Hall and, in 1645, St Thomas Street.⁶⁹ Lancaster adds that the Northgate area was burned in September 1645, 'though many hundred Families of their Partie, and much provision was destroyed thereby'.⁷⁰

Foregate area

In September 1645, as Brereton's troops broke into the suburbs through the Foregate area, Chester's forces retreated behind the walls. However, because of the delay in taking down the suburbs, this area gave the attackers plenty of cover and resources. Defenders may have hesitated to destroy this area because the Mayor's residence, The Red Lion, stood in Foregate Street.⁷¹ Chester soldiers, behind the walls, used fire arrows to burn the thatch on the houses closest to them; it was then that Byron sent out his 'desperate fellows' to fire the more substantial properties (presumably of stone) that stood higher than the walls and could allow the attackers to shoot into the city.⁷² William Edwards' Globe Tavern was at this point also burned down.⁷³ Lancaster adds that, at the same time as the Northgate was fired, Cow Lane and St John's Lane were also burned 'by their instruments lurking among us, some of which we slew'.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.222, 204, 224

⁷⁰ Lancaster, in 'William Brereton's Letter', p.23

⁷¹ Cheshire Sheaf, 3rd series, vol. 1, June 1896, p.51

⁷² Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, no. 250, p.8

⁷³ Cheshire City Archives and Local Studies (henceforth CALS), Corporation Lease Book, Sept 1657, ZCHB/3 f.161-162. 24

⁷⁴ Lancaster, in 'William Brereton's Letter', p.23

Within the Walls

Whilst the suburbs suffered from defensive measures, the houses and people within the walls were mainly under attack from Brereton's artillery. Despite the importance ascribed to the capture or keeping of Chester, on the ground both sides suffered from a lack of resources and, in many ways, it was a race between the two who would run out first.⁷⁵ Chester's supply line was closely contained by Brereton's troops; however, he too was combating a lack of money for wages and ammunition.⁷⁶ This lack of firepower would affect the subsequent damage, as Brereton turned his strategy from storming the city to bombarding it into submission, stating 'this city is not to be expected to be reduced by this army unless it be by distressing them within'.⁷⁷ On December 18th 1645, Holme's *Narrative* conjectures that the throwing of stones rather than grenades might be down to their costliness or else Brereton's troops had run out.⁷⁸ However, Byron's account suggests that by the end of December the parliamentary troops had been resupplied with 'shells of a greater size, and much thicker than the former. Every grenade that was shot now, 'caused a mutiny.'⁷⁹ By January, in spite of Byron's efforts to hold out, a mixture of grenade fire and starvation resulted in the city's surrender.

Once Brereton's troops had taken over the suburbs, the next line of defence were the walls. The walls, however, had been a cause for concern as the war approached. A report in 1641 described them as 'in many parts very ruinous, some part fallen

⁷⁵ Brereton described the capture of Chester to be as important as Newcastle or York. He adds, 'seeing the reducing of Chester will have a powerful influence upon the north-west of England and upon part of the kingdom of Ireland.' Brereton letter to Vane, 10-04-45, no.195, in Dore, *The Letter Books of William Brereton*, Vol. 1, p.195

⁷⁶ Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, no.255, p.16; Brereton in Dore, *The Letter Books of William Brereton*, Vol. 1, no. 177 (31-10-45), p.172; no. 793 (8-4-45), p.183-4; no. 831, (7/11/45), p.222; no. 840, (8/11/45), p.228

⁷⁷ Brereton, Letter to Sir Peter Wentworth, 15-12-45, no.1010, p.358, in Dore, *The Letter Books of William Brereton*, Vol. 1, p.358

⁷⁸ Holmes, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.235

⁷⁹ Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, p.21

down and in other parts ready to fall into further decay unless it be speedily prevented.⁸⁰ By raising money through specific assessments, as well as siphoning income from wine prisage, the Assembly was able to repair the walls to moderately defensible standards, at least once mud walls and ditches were dug.⁸¹ In his narrative Byron notes that the parliamentarians knew to position their guns 'against a decayed piece of the wall'.⁸² Both breaches in the walls – one at Newgate (29th September 1645) (fig. 6), and the other by the Goblin's Tower Mount on the north wall (9th October 1645) (fig. 7) – were defended and despite costing lives on both sides, the city was able to stave off a possible invasion.⁸³



Figure 6 - Breach in wall by Newgate, © John S Turner - geograph.org.uk/p/824141

⁸⁰ Young, Emberton, *Sieges of the Great Civil War*, p.109

⁸¹ CALS, Assembly Files, 01/06/1641, ZA/F/23/7; Young, Emberton, *Sieges of the Great Civil War*, p.108-9

⁸² Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, no.250, p.8

⁸³ Byron, in *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, no.250, p.9; Lancaster, in 'William Brereton's Letter', p.23-4, 27



Figure 7 - Walls by The Goblin's Tower, wikimedia.org

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chester_city_wall_\(near_Morgans_Mount\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chester_city_wall_(near_Morgans_Mount).jpg)

The city walls and towers suffered a great deal of artillery fire, including Sadler's Tower by the cathedral, the Bonewaldesthorpe Tower on the northwest wall (fig. 8), and Phoenix Tower which was almost destroyed and needed extensive rebuilding in the years following the siege.⁸⁴ On the 9th October 1645, after a concerted storm on the city, whereby parliamentarians attempted to enter by making a new breach in the north wall and to scale them with ladders, their efforts were ultimately repulsed.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Peter Bolton, 'The Chester Companies in the Seventeenth Century' *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, (2008) Vol.156, p.12
<<http://glyndwr.collections.crest.ac.uk/id/eprint/233>> [accessed 10/11/2018]

⁸⁵ Peter Gaunt, 'Chester's Role in the Civil War', *Cromwelliana* (Huntingdon, The Cromwell Association, 1995), p.17



Figure 8 - Extensive small shot damage can still be seen at Bonewaldesthorpe Tower, ©The Author

From this point Brereton's tactics changed to bombardment using his ordnance to fire at the city from points by the Goblin's Tower, Brewer's Hall and St John's Church steeple.⁸⁶ Much damage occurred to the houses in Eastgate Street and Watergate Street due to this tactic. Holme's *Narrative* described them as 'grind[ing] our dwellings into dust and ashes'⁸⁷. Thomas Throppe, in his composition petition,

⁸⁶ Letter to Sir Peter Wentworth, 15-12-45, no.1010, p.358, in Dore, *The Letter Books of William Brereton*, Vol. 1, p.358

⁸⁷ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.231

claimed his housing was 'destroyed and spoiled by grenadoes' in St. Peter's parish.⁸⁸

Alice Thornton described grenadoes being smothered before they could cause serious damage in July 1643, and it is likely that Chester was not more harmed due to the preparations put in place to prevent fire damage.⁸⁹ Although Holme's *Narrative* describes December 10th 1645 as 'a terrible night' where 'Eleven huge grandoes like so many tumbling demy-phaetons threaten to set the city, if not the world on fire' it is notable that most damage described within the walls as 'destroyed', 'ruined' or 'broken' rather than burned.⁹⁰ A firestorm that could have destroyed a whole city predominantly consisting of wooden buildings was a real possibility and measures to prevent it were put in place by Byron. Surplus fuel was destroyed and all houses were ordered to keep tubs of water and rawhides to smother fire. Porter explains: 'These precautions...were sufficient to prevent a general conflagration, despite the destruction of individual buildings.'⁹¹ Porter also suggests that the winter weather might have had a dampening effect on the bombardment.⁹²

However, the structural damage that did occur was palpable and rebuilding slow. The effects of the destruction could still be seen years later. Writing in 1656, Daniel King describes empty spaces within the walls: 'there is certain void ground, and corn-fields, whereby (as also by certain ruines of churches, or such like great places of stone) it appeareth, that the same was in old time all inhabited.'⁹³ In 1672, Jorevin

⁸⁸ Morris, p.205

⁸⁹ Alice Thornton, *The Autobiography of Mrs Alice Thornton*, p.32

⁹⁰ Holme, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.234-5, p.204, p.235

⁹¹ Porter, *Destruction in the Civil Wars*, p.52

⁹² Porter, 'The Destruction of Urban Property', p.79

⁹³ King, in *The History of Cheshire containing King's Vale Royal*, p.37

de Rocheford was still commenting on its condition: 'It has been much damaged during the late wars.'⁹⁴

Death and Disease

The use of grenades created a dwindling of morale, coupled by a dearth of provisions which led to starvation amongst the people, who had to survive on 'horses, dogs, and cats'.⁹⁵ Welsh soldiers, who had to survive on charity, died of starvation.⁹⁶ The number of deaths due to the siege is unclear as many narratives at the time mention individual deaths, usually of officers and gentry, but few estimate how many in total died. Lord Byron puts the figure at no more than two hundred, however this may only include soldiers, as he was a military commander, and may not include civilians.⁹⁷ The overpopulation due to refugees, soldiers and returning families after the siege, swelled the population from c.6500 in 1629 to c7-9,000 by 1646 (including billeted soldiers).⁹⁸ This, as well as a lack of administrative records as the corporation was replaced with parliamentary supporters, help to mask the civilian losses.

What is more clear are the demographic changes caused by the outbreak of plague in 1647. Slow rebuilding in the suburbs would have left refugees no choice but to stay within the walls or else find new homes further afield. The city was still being

⁹⁴ Jorevin de Rocheford, in Francis Grose, Thomas Astle, *The Antiquarian repertory : a miscellaneous assemblage of topography, history, biography, customs, and manners ; intended to illustrate and preserve several valuable remains of old times*, Vol. IV, (London, Edward Jeffery, 1804), p.586 <<https://archive.org/details/antiquarianreper04ingros/page/n5>> [accessed 20-07-19]

⁹⁵ Cowper, in Ormerod *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, p.207

⁹⁶ Byron, *The Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, no.256, p.21

⁹⁷ Byron, *The Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th series, vol. 6, no.257, p.23

⁹⁸ CP Lewis and AT Thacker, 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Demography', *British History Online*;

used as a base for soldiers moving to and from Ireland; this alongside with poor hygiene and an already much weakened population, allowed plague to strike and devastate them.⁹⁹

Some earlier signs suggest that Chester was already vulnerable to disease. In 1644 the Mayor directed to appoint two aldermen to acquaint Lord Byron with a problem concerning a noisome 'puddell' near the Eastgate that needed 'stopping up', and, perhaps in a related move, ordered that all inhabitants should clean in front of their houses.¹⁰⁰ Another issue near the Eastgate concerned the clogging of the drawbridge ditch which was 'choked with filth' flooding cellars, prompting an order to clear it.¹⁰¹

The 1647 plague caused c.2000 deaths, prompting two parliamentary ordinances, on the 3rd and 23rd August, to collect alms from eleven counties due to the resulting poor trade and impoverishment.¹⁰² A letter from Thomas Atkin, the ex-Lord Mayor of London, suggests that very few families were unaffected, and that 'almost all persons of ability have left the said city, there remaining for the most part only the poor, who are altogether deprived of trading, and if not presently relieved are likely to perish for want...' ¹⁰³

Deaths are recorded in company records – 5 out of 24 barber-chirurgeons died from plague; the glovers company membership dropped from 56 before the siege to 38 by 1653; the Joiners, Turners and Carvers Company recorded 20 members at the end

⁹⁹ CP Lewis and AT Thacker, 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Demography', *British History Online*

¹⁰⁰ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 16-04-46, ZA/B/2/65-66v

¹⁰¹ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 03-09-46, ZA/B/2/68-68v

¹⁰² A Catalogue of deaths in the Harleian MS 1922 shows 2032 deaths between 22nd June and 14th October 1647: TN Brushfield, 'The Plague at Chester 1647', *Cheshire Sheaf*, 1st series, Vol. 1, March 1879, no. 569, p.183-4; CH Firth and RS Rait (ed) 'Table of acts: 1647', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, (London, British History Online, 1911), pp. l-lix. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/l-lix> [accessed 1 August 2019].

¹⁰³ Anon, 'The Plague at Chester, 1647', *Cheshire Sheaf*, p.82

of the siege but had only 8 members by the time of the 1648 election. In September 1647 the Drapers company recorded an 80% absence; Bolton stating: 'The company steward removes the need for analysis or conjecture, explaining simply that "...the plague was in Chester..."'¹⁰⁴

Losses within companies would have arrested trade and a general exodus from the city, generally replaced by poor immigrants afterwards, left the city in a poor economic state, with recurrences of plague and poor demographic growth slowing recovery until at least 1700.¹⁰⁵

The siege, followed so closely by plague, had a profound effect on Chester and its ability to recover and consequently compete with its fast-growing neighbours. Its development in the late 17th century must be viewed in the context of these events. Whilst other towns also suffered from siege and plague it was rare that they recovered to grow into economic urban leaders, perhaps only Bristol showing positive growth although it was already starting from a stronger position as a large provincial capital.¹⁰⁶ The structural damage to Chester was severe enough to still be noticeable twenty-five years later and economic and population growth were both arrested due to the war's impact. Although the damage was great, the lack of fire damage and the quality of the building stock allowed the city to continue despite bombardment, disease and near-desertion. How it would revive its fortunes and place itself at the heart of the gentry's social scene will be explored in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁴ Bolton, 'The Chester Companies in the Seventeenth Century', p.15

¹⁰⁵ Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline: Population, Migration and Economy in Early Modern Chester', p.8; CP Lewis and AT Thacker (ed), 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Demography'

¹⁰⁶ Clark, *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, p.19

Chapter Two – Recovering from Disasters – Demography and Economy

By the end of the siege contemporaries considered Chester reduced to a state of desperate want; in 1647 the plague seriously devastated its population and trade.¹⁰⁷ Yet by the 1670's the city had recovered enough to begin its ascent to a county resort, with evident features of Borsay's 'urban renaissance', including public services, classical architecture and seasonal leisure pursuits.¹⁰⁸ The city had pulled itself from a city overrun by poor migrants to one that drew in the gentry both as residents and visitors.

This chapter will first examine the theoretical classification of towns common in urban history and how useful they are when applied to Chester. It will especially look at Clark and Slack's crisis and order, and Borsay's urban renaissance and McInnes' leisure town theories.¹⁰⁹ Secondly, it will address an issue that has not received enough attention when addressing Chester's rise to a gentry resort, the fate of the urban poor. Waves of migration following the plague allowed Chester's population to recover from a devastating spate of deaths. However, a large proportion of this migration were poor; Chester needed to implement strict regulation alongside existing poor relief in order to deal with an underclass that could have become

¹⁰⁷ Holme's narrative, Morris, p.205. CALS Draft of letter from [the Mayor and Aldermen?], 1648, ZM/L/3/430; TN Brushfield, 'The Plague at Chester 1647', *Cheshire Sheaf*; CP Lewis and AT Thacker (ed) 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: The civil war and interregnum, 1642-60', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography*, (London, 2003), pp. 115-125. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp115-125> [accessed 3 September 2019].

¹⁰⁸ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.42; 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Economy and society, 1662-1762', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography*, ed. C P Lewis and A T Thacker (London, 2003), p. 144, *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp137-145> [accessed 02-01-19]

¹⁰⁹ Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700*; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*; Angus McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town'

burdensome to the city. Figures show a substantial drop in the numbers of poor by the 1670s and it is as necessary to explain where they went as to where the gentry came from, to understand Chester in this period.

Finally, this chapter will look at another critical issue for Chester's economy, the decline of traditional industry and the rise in retail and luxury occupations. It is important to consider whether the latter grew as a response to the decline of more traditional industries, or whether industry was no longer prioritized as leisure sectors such as shopping and servicing grew. Whether Chester became a leisure town as a response to difficult economic circumstances, or in spite of them, will be assessed.

Chester in Transition

Histories of pre-industrial towns often use classifications based on population size, or industrial or commercial capability.¹¹⁰ However, Chester does not fit easily into any of these groups, often overlapping different categories. Using population as an indicator of importance, Clark and Slack considers Chester's population too small to be a provincial capital, estimated to be c.6500 at 1629, and between c.7000-8,000 by 1664.¹¹¹ This compares with their five provincial capitals, the smallest of which

¹¹⁰ Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition* split towns in provincial capitals, county towns, market towns; Chalkin also uses these categories but includes regional centres – Christopher Chalkin, *The Rise of the English Town 1650-1850*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); Borsay uses market towns, industrial towns, ports and spas – Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*

¹¹¹ 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Demography', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 1, the City of Chester: General History and Topography*, ed. C P Lewis and A T Thacker (London, 2003), pp. 90-97. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt1/pp90-97> [accessed 3 September 2019]; E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Population and Economy: From the Traditional to the Modern World (Spring, 1985), p. 686. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/204276>> [accessed 28-05-2019]

Provincial Capitals	c.1600	c.1660	c.1700
Norwich	15,000	20,000	30,000
Bristol	12,000	20,000	21,000
Exeter	9,000	9,000	14,000
Newcastle	10,000	12,000	16,000
York	12,000	12,000	12,000
Chester	6,000	8,000	8-9,000

Table 1 - Population sizes (to nearest 1000) of provincial capitals and Chester, from Wrigley, Urban Growth and Population Change, p.686

was Exeter with a population of c9,000 rising to c14,000 by 1700 (Table 1).¹¹²

Because of this, north-west England has no provincial capital. Chester instead is considered a county town. However, the distinction is an artificial one, as Clark and Slack admit that the features of the two types of town 'were different in scale, not in kind'.¹¹³ Chester was the largest city in the north-west with no serious economic competitors for the majority of the 17th century.¹¹⁴ Clark and Slack distinguish provincial capitals by their wider hinterland including overseas and London trade, less reliant on local demand; they were important nodes of transport networks; and they were more able to weather disaster.¹¹⁵ These could all apply to Chester which had port trade with Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Scandinavia throughout the period, as well as goods shipped in and out of London, especially cheese and Irish

¹¹² Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p.9; E. Anthony Wrigley, Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change' p.686

¹¹³ Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p.47

¹¹⁴ Ian Mitchell, 'The Development of Urban Retailing 1700-1815', in Peter Clark (ed) *Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800*, (London, Hutchinson, 1985), p.260

¹¹⁵ Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p.47

linen.¹¹⁶ Its nodal character is one of its most important features. Although travel was difficult in the 17th century, especially across the Saltney marshes (a problem unresolved until a road was built in the 1760s), Chester was a trade and distribution centre, as well as a travel centre in the 18th century by migrants on their way to and from Liverpool, Manchester, London and Ireland.¹¹⁷ Its ability to weather disasters or changes to the market can be seen throughout this period, recovering from siege, plague and legal challenges to its Irish market.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the reason Chester is not considered to have the features of a capital is because it handled these challenges not through industrialization or specialization like many similar towns, leading to a huge growth in population, but instead evolved its own priorities based on its wealthier residents' demands. It is true that Chester fulfils many of the features of Clark and Slack's county towns, including incorporation and a royal charter; active guilds; court sessions; city walls, and an established civic identity.¹¹⁹ However, it also had extensive fairs and markets; important ecclesiastical and political links; and increasingly sophisticated social and leisure facilities, the latter especially towards the middle of the 18th century. All of these are features of the provincial capital.¹²⁰

The ordering of towns into a hierarchy based on population or economic competitiveness necessarily pits one town against another, putting Chester at a disadvantage as Liverpool and Manchester grew in industrial dominance. However, it is arguable that this competition was not as important to Chester, which developed its own identity less on industry and more on leisure and society. This should be

¹¹⁶ C. Armour. 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600 – 1800', (PhD thesis, University of London, 1956) <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.262088>> [accessed 30-10-18], p.29

¹¹⁷ Armour, 'The Trade of Chester' p.2

¹¹⁸ Donald Woodward, The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade of the Seventeenth Century, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 72 (Sep., 1973), pp. 500-503, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30005575>

¹¹⁹ Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, pp.26-32

¹²⁰ Clark, Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p.47-55

considered in terms of Borsay's 'urban renaissance' and McInnes' leisure town theory.¹²¹ Both see the long 18th century as a turning point in the fortunes of English towns which had suffered from a series of crises in population and economy from the mid-16th century to the Restoration. Borsay posits that an upturn in the national economy leading to rising wages and prosperity, coupled with political stability and a cessation of deadly bouts of plague and fire, led to a new set of priorities for town leaders. Increasing influence from London led to new and fashionable town planning; a rise in leisure and social pursuits, luxury goods and retailing; and a desire for a cohesive and clean urban environment.¹²² For Borsay, Chester was a provincial capital and, during the urban renaissance, a social centre, with 'a growing range of luxury trades and retail outlets.'¹²³ He points to the growth in consumer culture where 'commerce and industry might take second place to the more refined needs of society.'¹²⁴ This was certainly true for Chester, especially towards the middle of the 18th century.

McInnes questions the sweeping nature of Borsay's renaissance arguing that many towns remained unaffected.¹²⁵ Instead, those towns that were affected were 'leisure towns', shaped by a 'leisure boom'. McInnes argues that the 'leisure boom' was piecemeal, 'specific not general', affecting some towns at the expense of the society and culture of others.¹²⁶ Moreover, he states that Borsay's classification of towns into market towns, industrial towns, ports and spas is too narrow, and that there were resorts with polite social pursuits but no medicinal waters, like Shrewsbury, or indeed

¹²¹ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*; McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town', pp.53-87 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/650922>> [accessed 09-11-2018]

¹²² Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.60-79

¹²³ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* p.34

¹²⁴ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* p.29

¹²⁵ Angus McInnes, *The English Town 1660-1760*, (London, The Historical Association, 1980), p.17

¹²⁶ McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town', p.84

Chester.¹²⁷ Deciding between an urban renaissance or a leisure boom may be too broad a question for this study, but this debate does have implications for Chester. The city does not fit easily into Borsay's four categories and it could indeed call itself an emerging 'leisure town' by the mid-18th century. McInnes analyses Shrewsbury's freemen rolls to highlight a change in occupations, stating that a decline in traditional industries such as textiles and leather-working was replaced by leisure, luxury and service occupations.¹²⁸ This was also true of Chester, however it is less clear whether leisure grew to fill the vacuum left by traditional industry or whether the rise in leisure led to the demise of traditional industries. It is difficult to definitively answer this; however, whilst neither were the result of a conscious policy, it could be argued that the changing nature of the population from migrants searching for work, to a gentry and middle class with money to spend may have been one reason for the change.

Clark and Slack, along with Borsay and McInnes, point to a period of stagnation and crisis, followed by renaissance, during 1500-1700. However, Knowles argues that Chester experienced sustained growth from the later 16th century, spurred by Irish and overseas port trade.¹²⁹ He adds that there was more continuity before and after the civil war than change, with Chester's economic stability continuing from a position of pre-war strength.¹³⁰ The decline of the port was exaggerated, as it had only ever been a small port, and its marketing and distributive sectors continued to be important on both sides of the war.¹³¹ This argument is compelling, there is little evidence for stagnation before the war, although natural population growth was

¹²⁷ McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town' p.84

¹²⁸ McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town' p.57

¹²⁹ Philip Knowles, 'Continuity and change in urban culture' p.31

¹³⁰ Knowles, p.32

¹³¹ Knowles, p.32

below the national average, it was steady, bolstered by cyclical migration.¹³² The spate of new built houses from the late 16th and early 17th century, (mentioned in Chapter One), suggests a rise in prosperity and economic confidence.¹³³ The city also continued to have an essential administrative, political and ecclesiastical role into the early 19th century, something it acquired in the centuries before the war.

However, the effect of the civil war was damaging, and the long-term consequences shaped how Chester was able to compete with its regional neighbours. For at least a century after the civil war, Chester remained in a transitional state, fighting to recover from structural and demographic damage, whilst losing ground economically due to the meteoric rise of Liverpool and Manchester. Nevertheless, it was during this transition that Chester was able to recover and fashion a new niche in the region. The next section will consider the effects migration had on the demography of the city, and how Chester regulated its population.

Demography – A Poor Start

The siege had caused an overpopulation of Chester with an estimated 6,056 civilians sharing the city with c3,000 soldiers within the walls.¹³⁴ Directly after surrender, the city would have seen a dramatic flow of people in and out, as citizens who fled the war returned and those who had been unable to leave the city took the opportunity to move out.¹³⁵ This flow of people, including soldiers travelling to and from Ireland, coupled with a likely drop in hygiene and an already weakened

¹³² Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline' p.11-12

¹³³ Andrew Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p.77

¹³⁴ Lewis and Thacker (ed) 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: Demography'

¹³⁵ Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline' p.9

population, allowed plague to hit in 1647, killing c2,000 people. The plague was said to have driven away most of their able inhabitants and caused serious damage to trade.¹³⁶ However, the city was able to recover its population relatively quickly as new migrants flooded into the city to take the places of those who had died. Alldridge sees this replacement process as 'a blind reaction on the part of young Cestrians or immigrants to plug gaps, a reaction that may have overcrowded accommodation in the city and swamped the markets with labour and new businesses'.¹³⁷

It was up to the city to ensure that the arriving migrants were useful and not likely to become a burden. Admissions to the guilds; regulating foreign traders through fines and strict supervision by overseers; and removing the poor back to their home parishes were all possible options for the corporation.

A number of assembly orders were given, during the 1640-50s, against foreigners trading in the city. In May 1648, a petition by 'many citizens' complained of foreigners keeping inns and victualling houses, selling ale and beer.¹³⁸ Throughout the late 17th century this continued to be a problem, with quarter sessions files dominated by prosecutions for selling ale and beer without licence, with 178 prosecutions in 1675 alone.¹³⁹

The regulation of trade was important to the city's recovery; but whilst protectionist policies were needed to allow city traders to flourish, it was also essential that the ability to attract outside traders was not disadvantaged. In March 1651, two petitions were considered by the assembly, the first protected city traders whilst the latter

¹³⁶ CALS Draft of letter from [the Mayor and Aldermen?], 1648, ZM/L/3/430; Anon, 'The Plague at Chester, 1647', *Cheshire Sheaf*, 1st series, Vol. 1, October 1878, no.279, p.82

¹³⁷ Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline', p.11

¹³⁸ CALS Second Assembly Book, 06-05-1648, ZA/B/2/82v-84

¹³⁹ CALS Quarter Sessions Files, 1674-1682, ZQSF/82 pt. 6; CALS Quarter Sessions Miscellaneous File ZQSF 78, 1675

allows foreign sellers to ply their trade on a restricted basis. It was complained that corn sold by foreigners had not been going through the Corn Market, and it was ordered that this should happen, with taxes of 6d on buyers of foreign corn. In the second petition country bakers complained that they were being litigated against by the Company of Bakers, despite having previous rights to sell their brown or 'boulted' bread on market days. The assembly allowed them to continue selling their bread restricted to Eastgate Street.¹⁴⁰ In 1654, a petition by the Company of Feltnakers emphasised the connection between foreign traders and city industry. It stated that although a 'great company' they had 'grown very poor by the occurrences of these sad times', and that 1,500 people depended on their trade. They complained that the Leavelookers (inspectors) were harassing those traders bringing wool into the city market and asked that they continue freely without disturbance.¹⁴¹

Quarter session files also show a number of prosecutions for foreigners trading without guild membership. In 1657, Samuel Elcock was prosecuted by the Company of Mercers and Ironmongers; and Thomas Thompson, a 'foreigner with wife and family within the city' was prosecuted by the Company of Tailors, along with sixteen others.¹⁴² In the same year William Waller 'a foreigner', was prosecuted for 'building a shop very lately into the Row'.¹⁴³ It would have been considered most important, especially by the city companies, that in the years after the siege and plague, city trade maintained continuity and that their own position continued to be respected.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 25-03-1651, ZA/B/2/95-96

¹⁴¹ CALS, Assembly Files of the Seventeenth Century, 15-08-1654, ZA/F/33/16

¹⁴² CALS Quarter Sessions Miscellaneous File, ZQSF 78, 1657

¹⁴³ CALS Quarter Sessions Miscellaneous File, ZQSF 78, 1657

¹⁴⁴ Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline', p19-20

However, although ensuring the rights of city tradesmen and employers, trade protection had not regulated the growing poor population. In March 1651, the assembly ordered that 'since the City was in danger of being filled with poor people' a survey of poor inmates and strangers should be taken by the Aldermen and Constables so that they would be removed.¹⁴⁵ The result of this order cannot be found but in 1657 a similar survey found 1,400 foreigners, 'a very considerable number of them very poor'.¹⁴⁶ In 1666, the Assembly was still complaining about the number of poor, rebuking the beables for neglecting their duties. They ordered that the Justices of the Peace should inspect their ward monthly, 'to prevent the reception and increase of poor people and in "inmates" who might be burdensome to the City'.¹⁴⁷

Parish records before the Restoration are incomplete and it is difficult to see any specific actions taken other than assembly orders for assessments for poor relief such as in 1648 when £10 was raised 'to be distributed to the poor of the city'.¹⁴⁸ Even after the Restoration, parish records are scarce but where they exist, themes begin to emerge which are in line with existing writing about poor relief. Solar argues that providing for the poor was widely accepted as a duty for the elite.¹⁴⁹ However, he also sees the elite overseeing of poor relief as a way of managing the parish's population, allowing regulation of the poor workforce through controlling wages and the supply of labour, enabling property owners to contain or reverse population growth.¹⁵⁰ Snell argues that poor relief is essential to understanding the social history

¹⁴⁵ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 25-03-1651, ZA/B/2/95-96

¹⁴⁶ Alldridge, 'Mechanics of Decline', p.10

¹⁴⁷ CALS Second Assembly Book, 09-11-1666 ZA/B/2/156v

¹⁴⁸ CALS Second Assembly Book, 27-11-1648, ZA/B/2/87-88

¹⁴⁹ Peter M. Solar, 'Poor Relief and English Economic Development before the Industrial Revolution', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 1, (Feb 1995), p.6

<www.jstor.org/stable/2597868> [accessed 02-08-19]

¹⁵⁰ Solar, 'Poor Relief and English Economic Development', p.13

of the 18th century, claiming that it permeated social relationships and influenced many aspects of parish life, including employment, wage regulation, price fixing, apprenticeships, marriage, settlement and the treatment of the elderly.¹⁵¹

Kelly and O Grada describe relief as 'neither generous nor unconditional, but its reach was broad'.¹⁵² This is evident in Chester's records which show disbursements for burial, clothing, travel, apprenticeships, medicine and paying off debts.¹⁵³ Two children are maintained during 1663 at St John's ward, it is unclear where their parents are, but the parish continued to pay for their keep throughout the year. 'Adsbrook's child' is given money for a pair of stockings and seven yards of material for clothing. 'Widdow Huge's grandchild' is likewise given money for 'three yards of cloafe to make that child two smocks'. Both children are kept by Widdow Johnson and Jane Booth who are regularly paid for keeping the children. It is likely that these children were too young to work as the parish registers contain regular accounts of payment to employers for taking children as apprentices.¹⁵⁴

What these payments also show is how poor relief was used to employ the poor in useful activities, in the above case, boarding children. Other examples include the extermination of vermin, as the parish records show numerous payments of 4d for a hedgehog or a 1s for a fox head.¹⁵⁵ This is in line with an improving school of thought

¹⁵¹ KDM Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.105

¹⁵² Morgan Kelly and Cormac O Grada, 'The Poor Law of Old England: Institutional Innovation and Demographic Regimes', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Winter 2011) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40985738>> [accessed 02-08-19]

¹⁵³ RVH Burne, 'The Treatment of the Poor in the Eighteenth Century in Chester' *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 52. Vol 52, 1965, pp. 33-48 <<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/details.xhtml?recordId=3204979&recordType=Journal>> [accessed 04-08-19]

¹⁵⁴ CALS, Chester St John's Churchwarden Accounts, 1662 P51/12/2

¹⁵⁵ CALS, Chester St John's 1677, P51/12/2; CALS, Chester St Oswald's Churchwarden Accounts, P29/7/3-4

that ran throughout the early modern era.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, there is evidence in Chester of different schemes for the employment of the poor, including, in 1674, the welcoming of a weaver and woolcomber from Norwich 'to set up a manufacture for employing the poor.' They were assured that, on arrival, the assembly would grant them freeman status.¹⁵⁷ In 1655 it was ordered that a new House of Correction should be built, with a cost of £200, with any surplus to 'be reserved for a stock on which to set the poor on work'.¹⁵⁸

By the end of the 17th century, rising personal wealth and the gentry's conscious desire to display charitable undertaking, led to a number of bequests by gentlemen so that by the 1670's, St John's ward had four different funds from wills as well as provision by the Company of Clothworkers.¹⁵⁹ By the beginning of the 18th century charity was becoming more institutionalised, as the gentry set up subscriptions for 'improving' charities such as the Bluecoat school (fig. 10), which raised £3,000 in 1700 for a new building on the grounds of the St John's Hospital.¹⁶⁰ This was also a reflection of national trends, mimicking publicly lauded charity buildings such as the Royal Hospital, Chelsea and Bethlam Hospital (fig. 9); both a statement of modernity and a display of wealth and charity, much in the vein of the public bequests.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), p.83

¹⁵⁷ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 05-10-1675, ZA/B/2/182v

¹⁵⁸ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 21-08-1655 ZA/B/2/109-109v

¹⁵⁹ CALS, Chester St John's 1675-1679, P51/12/2

¹⁶⁰ Rev. Frederick G Wright, 'Chester Blue Coat Hospital' *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, Vol. 23, 1920 p.6,

<<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/details.xhtml?recordId=3204647&recordType=Journal>> [accessed 12-08-19]

¹⁶¹ Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, p.91



Figure 9 - Bethlem Hospital was a public display of charity by the gentry. Engraving, 1677. It influenced institutional building throughout the country. ©The Wellcome Collection, 1677.
<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/y5hmhgbu>



Figure 10 - Blue Coat School, Chester, built in 1717, after raising £3000 in subscriptions. ©Jeff Buck
<https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4501559>

The school and workhouses were ways of centralising the poor, culminating in a general workhouse built on the Roodee in c1758-9, expanded in subsequent decades.¹⁶² Whilst it had variable ambitions towards supplying work, it became a disliked warehouse for keeping the poor, as they were taken out of the parishes and institutionalised away from the main streets of the city.¹⁶³ This was a policy from at least 1666 when the assembly ordered that 'Poor people who could work' should be sent to the House of Correction, a way of employing them and getting them off the streets.¹⁶⁴ From 1721 the Workhouse Test meant that those who were not prepared to go to a workhouse were less likely to receive poor relief. Therefore the elite attempted to reduce the costs of maintaining the poor and those that had to be kept were centralised and institutionalised with the result of improving the urban environment by clearing slum areas of people.¹⁶⁵

A rise in income and charitable giving allowed the poor to start maintaining themselves.¹⁶⁶ This is reflected in the Hearth Tax returns for the period which saw a notable drop in the number of poor, even in the space of eight years. The Hearth Tax returns represent a short space in time, from 1664 to 1672, providing a before and after snapshot of the city's population (table 2).¹⁶⁷ Although the returns cannot show

¹⁶² CALS Treasurer's Vouchers 1553-1836, ZTAV; CALS Fourth Assembly Book 18-07-1760, ZA/B/4/(184)

¹⁶³ Sir Frederic Morton Eden, *The State of The Poor: An History of the Labouring Classes In England, from the Conquest To The Present Period Together with Parochial Reports*, (London, J. Davis, 1797) p.39

¹⁶⁴ CALS, Second Assembly Book, 09-11-1666, ZA/B/2/156v

¹⁶⁵ Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*, p.134

¹⁶⁶ McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town', p.77

¹⁶⁷ Hearth Tax returns come from two sources – 1664, FC Beazley, 'Hearth Tax Returns for the City of Chester 1664-5', in *Miscellanies Relating from Cheshire and Lancashire, Volume the Fifth*, pp.156-239 (Birkenhead, The Record Society for Lancashire and Cheshire, 1906), <http://rslc.org.uk/api/file/Vol_052.pdf> [accessed 02-08-19]; 1672 – CALS, Quarter Session Files, 1672 QSF/82 part VI

exactly where changes occurred, other than by ward (see Appendix Two), they give an indication of how many people were exempted from the tax due to poverty, and the nature of housing suggested by the number of hearths possessed.¹⁶⁸

	Poor exempted	1-3	4-6	7-9	10+
1664	650	576	268	78	36
1672	337	668	281	83	45
Difference	313	92	13	5	9
Percentage diff	-48.15%	+15.97%	+4.85%	+6.41%	+25%

Table 2 - Chester Hearth Tax returns 1664 and 1672

The most important figure here shows that the number of poor dropped by 48.15%, and that the number of 1-3 hearths increased by 15.97%. Although there was a large decrease in the number of poor exempted from the tax, it does not solely reflect a reduction in poor people; it is also likely that the underclass were now not as poor as eight years earlier, perhaps able to possess or rent a slightly better home with a hearth, and were therefore no longer exempt.

The reduction of those that would have constituted a burden on the city, would still have left a stock of working poor useful for employers in industry. Basic labouring classes would have easily found work in traditional industrial sectors.¹⁶⁹ However, as industry gave way to retail and greater luxury specialization, the working poor began to leave the city for its industrializing neighbours. Alldridge shows that during this period Chester experienced wave-like phases of immigration and emigration, but

¹⁶⁸ Gwyn I. Meirion-Jones, 'The Use of Hearth Tax Returns and Vernacular Architecture in Settlement Studies: With Examples from North-East Hampshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, No. 53 (July 1971), p.136, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/621663>> [accessed 16-08-2019]

¹⁶⁹ Solar, 'Poor Relief and English Economic Development', p.11

migrants would have started to bypass Chester as industrial or agricultural jobs were no longer available in the city.¹⁷⁰ However, whilst he views this pattern as a sad decline for the city, it was as likely seen as a positive for a polite and genteel society. Stobart argues: 'In places with pretensions to be resorts for the wealthy, industry and rapidly expanding populations would have ill-served their image as sophisticated and exclusive urbane centres, particularly as tastes moved towards the picturesque in the early nineteenth century.'¹⁷¹

From Industry to Leisure

During this period Chester's economy contained an array of differing sectors, blending traditional industry with newer sources of income.¹⁷² This variety of trades continued throughout the 18th century, although traditional industry had begun to decline by the late 17th century. However, Chester maintained a flexible approach to its economy, using its nodal position to attract merchants, mariners, and wealthy shoppers to its gates. This section will consider the reasons behind the decline of traditional industry; the continuing importance of marketing and distribution, and the polite retail and luxury sector which became its most recognizable commodity.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline', p.15; Peter Borsay, 'The Restoration Town', p.175

¹⁷¹ Jon Stobart, 'In search of causality: a regional approach to urban growth in eighteenth-century England' *Geografiska Annaler* 82B no.3 (2000): p158

¹⁷² Jon Stobart, 'County, Town and Country: Three Histories of Urban Development in Eighteenth Century England' in Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (ed) *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence*, Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 108, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), p.174

¹⁷³ Jon Stobart, 'Retailing revolution in the eighteenth century? Evidence from North-West England', *Business History* (Vol. 46, Issue 2.) Apr. 2004, p.4
<<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A118378704/AONE?u=chester&sid=AONE&xid=7d56b497>> [Accessed 24 Aug. 2019]

One source of information for Chester's industries are the freeman rolls kept between 1646 to 1745.¹⁷⁴ They list those with license to trade and vote in the city and can show a general trend of how these working men, often employers, identified themselves. However, there are limitations to these sources. Firstly, they only list men and so do not include women who were working in the city. They also do not show the poor who were more likely to be unemployed or engaged in by-employments or non-regulated trades.¹⁷⁵ These people were especially useful to those basic processing industries essential to traditional industry (see figure 15).

Freemen rolls, whilst useful for determining general trends, are less useful on a year by year basis, an occupation admitted in one year may be opposed by the guilds in the next, due to having enough people working in one sector. Or it may be that certain occupations are not represented because nobody applied to the freedom that year. Also, by the 18th century, freeman rolls became less about employment and more about electioneering, as more men were admitted either as sons of previous freemen or in their own right, in order for aldermen of a certain political persuasion to gain support. Therefore, in election years freeman rolls become much longer and often, the people on the lists have no occupation listed.¹⁷⁶ This can be seen in the especially contentious mayoral election in 1731-2 where 631 freemen were admitted in 1731 and 111 in 1732. This compares to 20 in 1734 and 24 in 1735.¹⁷⁷ The percentage of freemen with no named occupation is generally small, peaking in

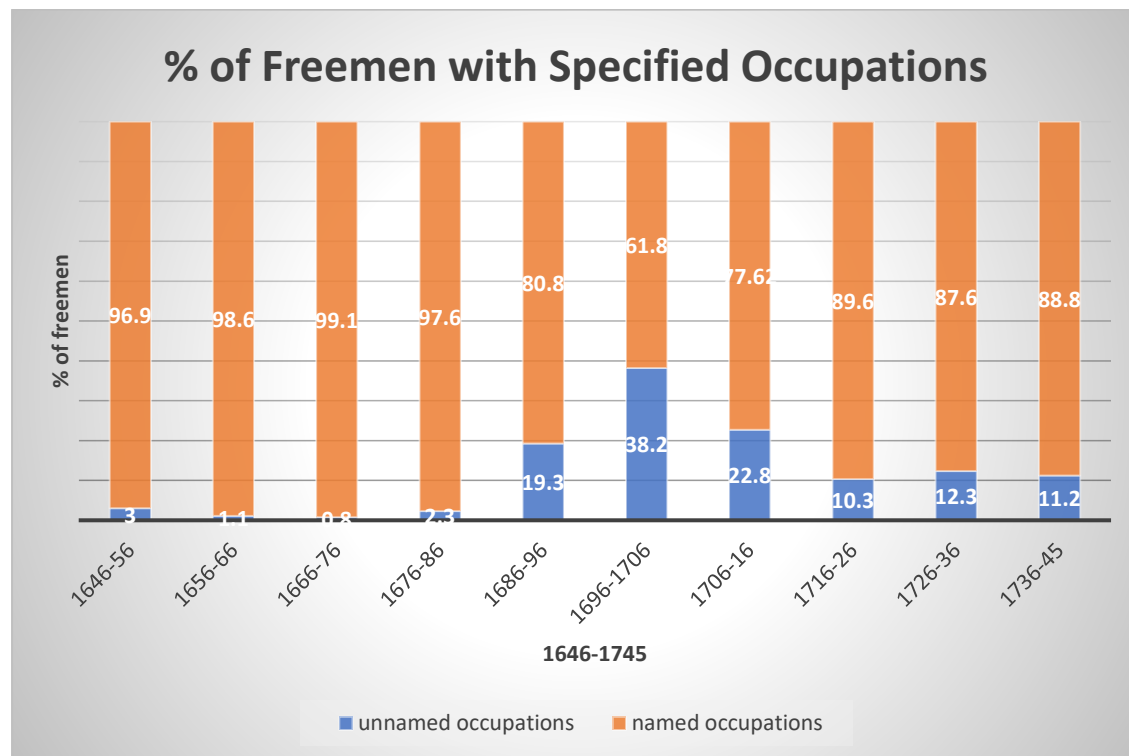
¹⁷⁴ JHE Bennett, 'The Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester, Part 1 – 1392-1700' (Birkenhead, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1906) <<https://archive.org/details/rollsfreemencit00enggoog/page/n8>> [accessed 15-08-19]; JHE Bennett, 'The Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester, Part 2 – 1700-1805' (Birkenhead, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1908) <<https://archive.org/details/rollsfreemencit00benngoog/page/n6>> [accessed 15-08-19]

¹⁷⁵ Alldridge, 'The Mechanics of Decline', p.17

¹⁷⁶ Whinton, 'Politics and Culture in the City', 136

¹⁷⁷ Bennett, *Freeman Rolls of the City of Chester*, Vol. II – see Appendix Three

1696-1706 (graph 1). Generally, this issue is mitigated by calculating the percentage of named occupations in the rolls across the decade.



Graph 1 - Comparison of Freeman with Named and Unnamed Occupations by Percentage of Freeman Roll

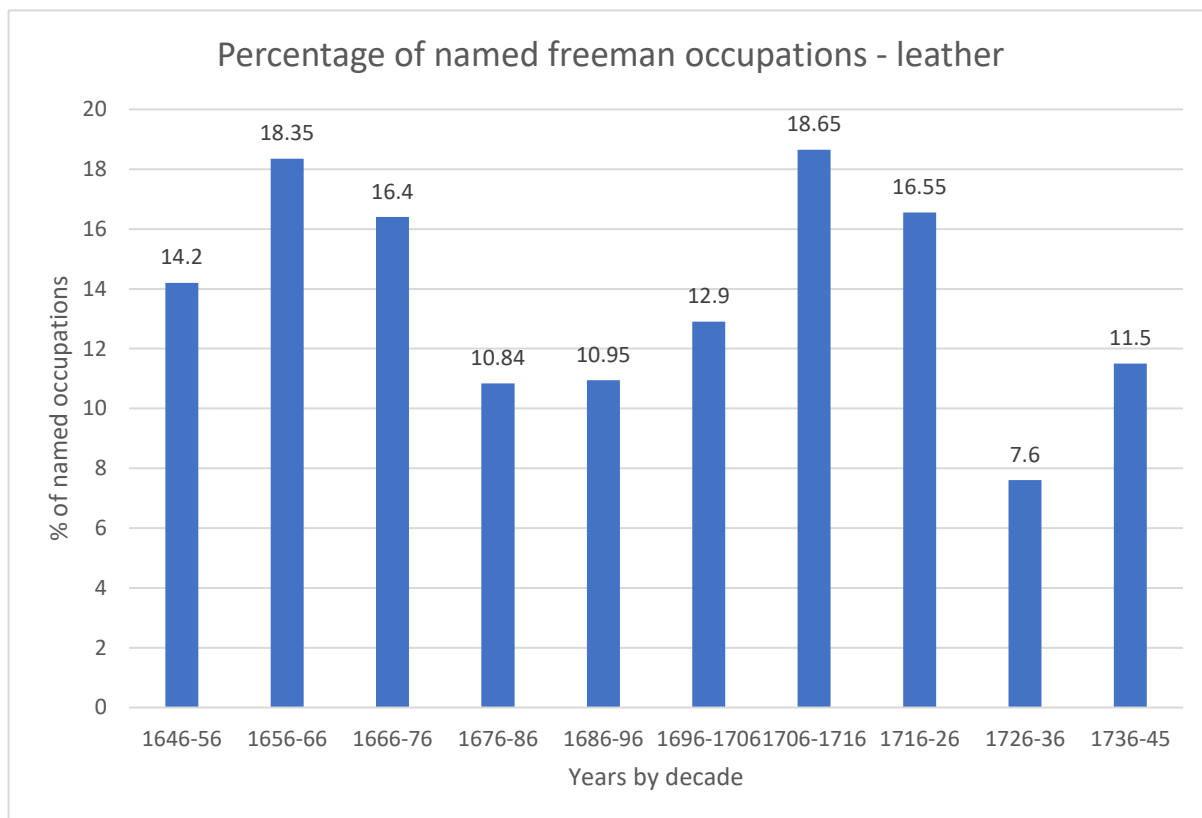
Despite these limitations, freemen roles are useful to show a proportion of the working population who were often employing others, and named occupations can show what kind of industries were operating in the city at the time.

Choices made about classifying occupations also raise issues, as these are often artificial distinctions. People may have more than one job, or more than one activity within a job, so that a tailor may make *and* sell clothes. Rather than applying materials or actions to one category, this study has been influenced by Patten's approach of grouping activities, so that a tailor is engaged in Making/Selling, as well

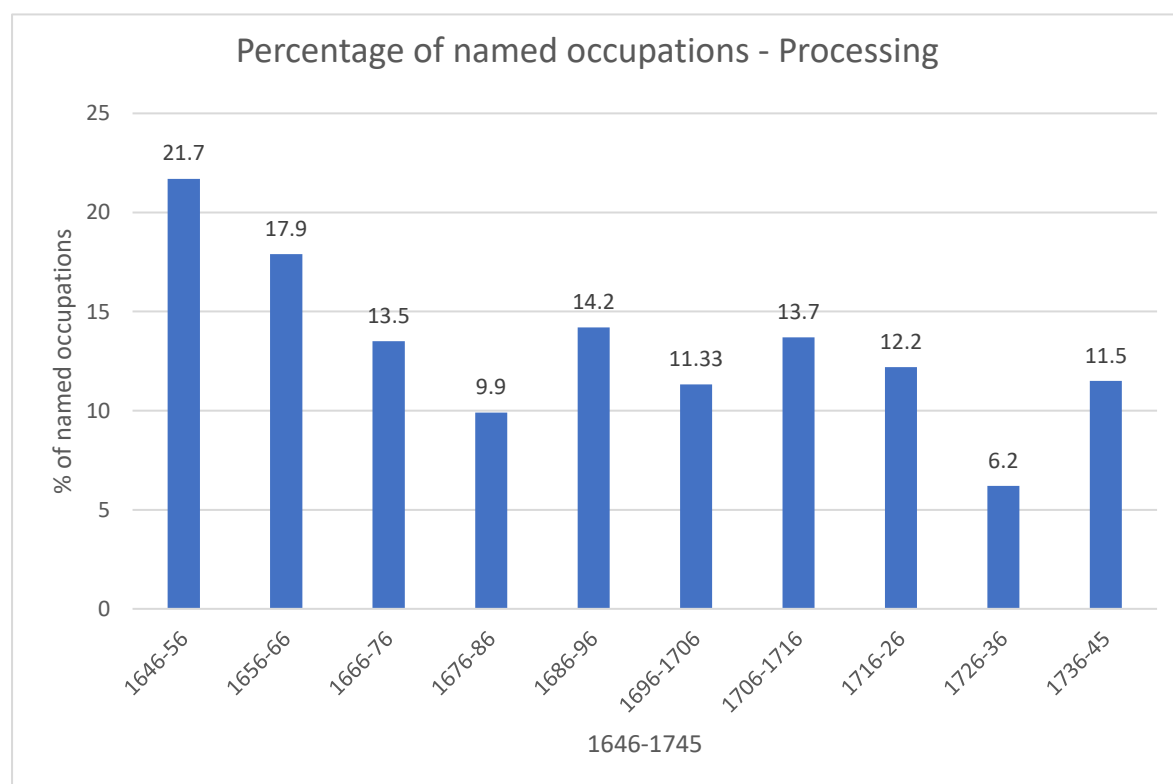
as in the Clothing/Textiles sector.¹⁷⁸ Some decisions may be more contentious, woodworkers have been placed into Building rather than Processing or Making/Selling, even though joiners, sawyers, carvers and turners may easily fit into all of these categories. The choice to put it into Building reflects a likelihood that this sector would be a dominant area for woodworkers as, up until the mid 18th century, many buildings were still timber-framed, their interiors were also wooden and maintenance would have employed woodworkers. Naturally, other woodworking activities existed such as coopers, wheelwrights or shipbuilding and where possible they have been individually categorized but where it is unclear what the woodworkers were making, it has been decided that Building is the most appropriate, although not entirely satisfactory, fit. Making/selling tend to group craftsmen that make finished products; Buying/selling are generally in distributive trades; Processing is used for those secondary occupations that work with materials without creating a product, such as tanning, dying or clothworking; and Services involve activities that may not create a finished product, such as Scrivener, Barber, Innholder, or Clerk.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ John Patten, 'Urban Occupations in Pre-Industrial England', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 2, No. 3, Change in the Town (1977), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/621833>, [accessed 01-06-2019] p13-16

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix Three for Table of Categories chosen and lists of freemen



Graph 2 - Percentage of Leather Working Occupations listed in Freeman Rolls, 1646-1745



Graph 3 - Percentage of Processing Occupations listed in Freeman Rolls 1646-1745

Chester's main industries at the beginning of the 17th century, were leather and textiles. Leather working derived from Chester's position as the main importer of cattle from Ireland. The livestock trade was also one of the city's most important distributive functions dominating the trade in the region until at least 1680.¹⁸⁰ It also imported rawhides from Ireland for tanning and leather goods. The significance of the leather industry is reflected in the Freeman Rolls that show a high proportion of shoemakers/cordwainers and glovers/wetglovers, along with saddlers, and a bridle-cutter and whipmaker. The processing of leather shows a high proportion of tanners, curriers and skinners. Even though processing jobs steadily declined over the period (from 21% in 1646-56 to a low of 6% in 1626-36), the level of freemen declaring themselves leatherworkers remained stable until the 1720s when there is a sudden drop (see graph 2 and 3).

It is likely that this decline was due to competition from Liverpool and Manchester, which were better placed geographically and in terms of infrastructure, to exploit the growing provision of colonial materials.¹⁸¹ However, it is questionable whether Chester was motivated to compete with these industrializing towns. Armour suggests that the city showed 'little enthusiasm' in developing trade with North America, despite continuing to use the port for European trade, and despite building ships suitable for the slave trade. Armour argues that 'The city merchants must have been lacking in enterprise'.¹⁸² It is as reasonable to conjecture that the city merchants

¹⁸⁰ Woodward, 'The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade of the Seventeenth Century', p.505; Armour, 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600 – 1800' p.265

¹⁸¹ David Harris Sacks, Michael Lynch 'Ports 1540-1700' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol. II – 1540-1840*, (2012, 3rd printing, Cambridge university Press) p.404-5; Stobart, 'County, Town and Country', p.174

¹⁸² Armour, 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600 – 1800', p.4

were aware of the limitations of the port, in position and quality, something which had been apparent for at least a century, and therefore focused on other priorities.¹⁸³

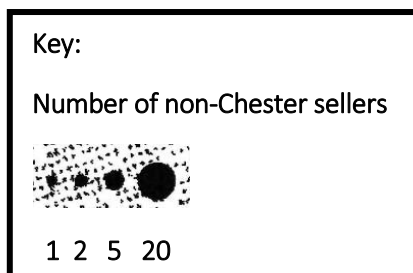
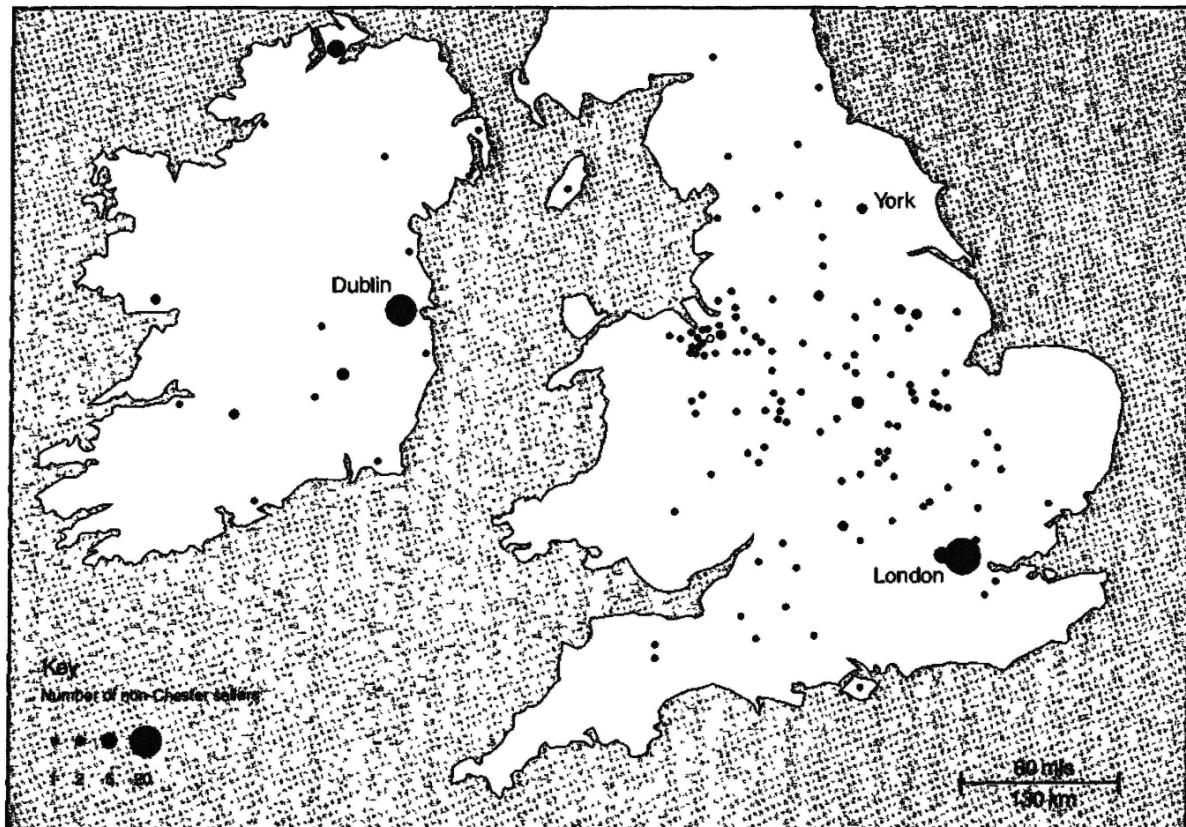


Figure 11 - Origin of sellers at Chester horse markets 1660-1723, from Stobart, 'County, Town and Country,' p.190

Chester's marketing sector had always been strong, attracting traders from across the country, especially for its Irish livestock. Stobart's map shows the range Chester's horse markets enjoyed, with sellers from across England, Wales and

¹⁸³ TS Willan, Chester and the Navigation of the Dee 1600-1750, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* Vol 32(1), 1937, p.64
<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/browse/details.xhtml?recordId=3204778&recordType=Journal>; [accessed 23/08/19]

Ireland, (figure 11).¹⁸⁴ Parts of the city became known for marketing, sellers rented shops at fair times, especially Eastgate Street, where in the 1740s locals described a 'Manchester row' where Mancunian traders would sell their wares.¹⁸⁵ There were also fish, meat, vegetable, corn and livestock markets on Northgate Street, fowl, butter and cheese on Eastgate Street and coal on Bridge Street.¹⁸⁶ In the 18th century there were also regular fairs for Irish linen cloth; Lancashire muslins, cottons and flannel; Yorkshire woollens; Welsh flannel; Sheffield and Birmingham hardware, and hops.¹⁸⁷ These would have served Cheshire and North Wales, both supplying goods and providing work to residents and visitors alike. Mitchell argues that Chester became the 'primary service centre' of the North West during the 18th century, and by 1801 could consider itself a provincial capital.¹⁸⁸ This runs counter to the belief that Chester was in decline during this period and emphasizes the city's success even in its transitional state.

Due to tax exemptions on the import of Irish linen in 1696, this market became an essential component of Chester's port trade from the early 18th century onwards, with 411,160m imported in 1736 rising to 1,025,620m in 1765, and increasing five-fold again by 1786. Indeed, two linen halls were built in the late 18th century to accommodate the demand.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Stobart, 'County, Town and Country', p.190

¹⁸⁵ Ian Mitchell, 'The Changing Role of Fairs in the Long Eighteenth Century: Evidence from the North Midlands', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Aug., 2007), p.563 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4502109>> [accessed 11-11-2018]

¹⁸⁶ Jon Stobart, 'Shopping streets as social space: leisure, consumerism and improvement in an eighteenth century', *Urban History*, 25,1 (1998), p.16, <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S096392680001261X>> [accessed 11-11-18]

¹⁸⁷ Armour, 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600 – 1800', p.20

¹⁸⁸ Mitchell, 'The Development of Urban Retailing 1700-1815' p.261

¹⁸⁹ Stobart, 'Town, County, Country', p.191

Port trade in this era also increased mainly through coasting trade. The Dee's navigation had been problematic for at least a century.¹⁹⁰ Irish ships had once carried cattle to Chester and returned with Welsh coal, however, from 1681 the importation of cattle was banned. The ships therefore came from Ireland empty and would often dump their ballast into the river to ease their approach. This made the navigation even worse making large ships unable to approach Chester and instead landing at Parkgate or Liverpool.¹⁹¹ Goods at Parkgate were taken by road to Chester's markets at a cost.¹⁹² Although efforts to improve the navigation were not successful small ships were still able to use the port, their main cargo being lead, coal and cheese. This trade grew until its peak in the 1770s.¹⁹³

The retail and luxury trades developed mainly towards the mid to late 18th century. As has been stated above, traders would take shops at fair times and would also trade in inns.¹⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, the best of Chester's retail sector was to come after 1745. Those identifying in the Buying/Selling category fell during this period from a peak of 22% in 1656-1666 to 7% in 1736-45 (graph 4). Although it is not clear why, it is possible that those working in retail were also more likely to be makers of their goods, such as goldsmith, tailor or jeweler. Merchants, drapers and mercers were perhaps more likely to be travelling professions moving between towns.

Making/Selling remained stable during this period (graph 5), whilst those involved in

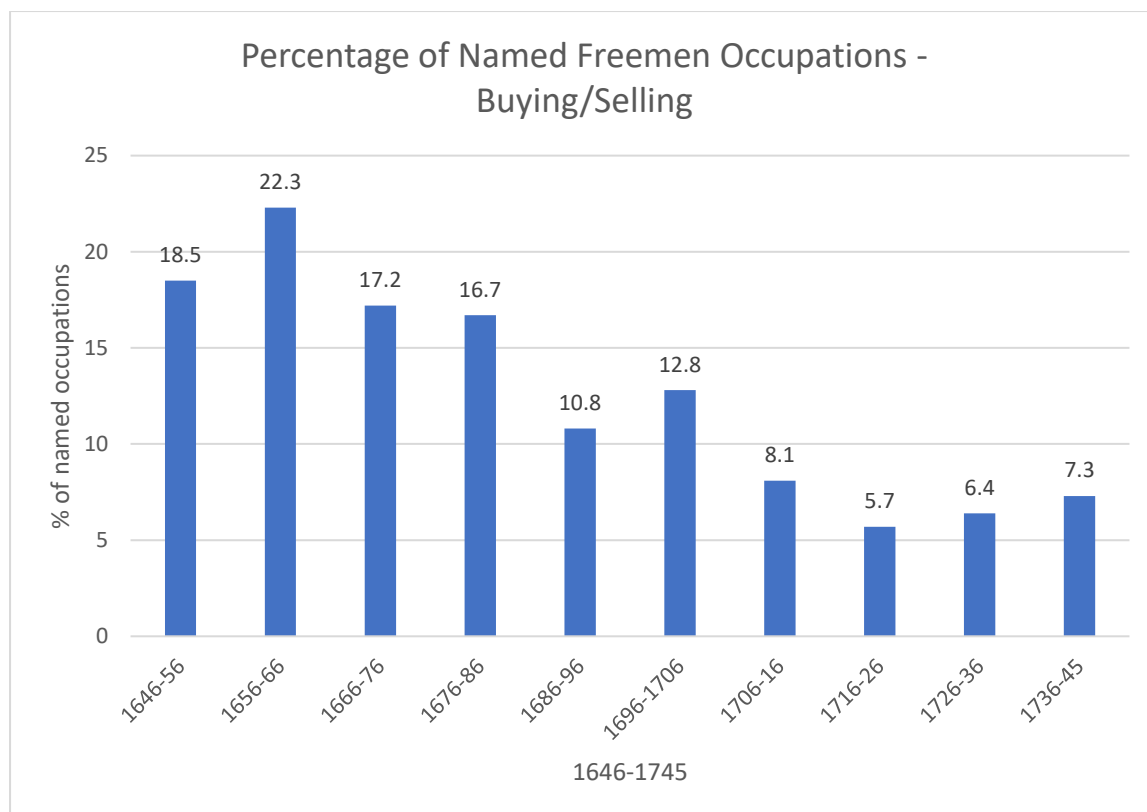
¹⁹⁰ Donald Woodward, 'The Port of Chester in Context 1500-1800' in Carrington, Peter (compiler) *Where Deva Spreads her Wizard Stream': Trade and the Port of Chester. Papers from a Seminar Held at Chester, November 1995* compiled by Peter Carrington, (Chester, Chester City Council, 1996) pp.61-65

¹⁹¹ Armour, 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600-1800', p.279

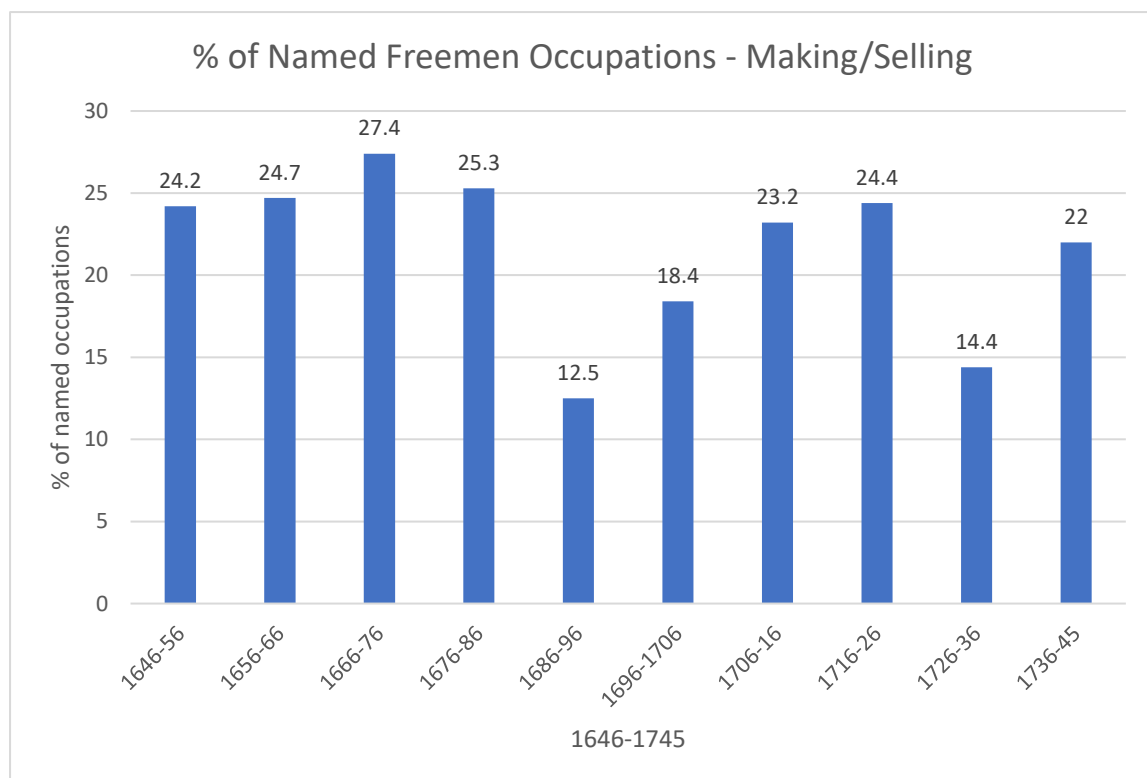
¹⁹² Robert Craig, 'Some Aspects of The Trade And Shipping of The River Dee In The Eighteenth Century', *The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol.44, 1962, p.101
<<https://www.hslc.org.uk/journal/vol-114-1962/attachment/114-7-craig/p.101>>, [accessed 19-06-19]

¹⁹³ Armour, 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600-1800', p.281

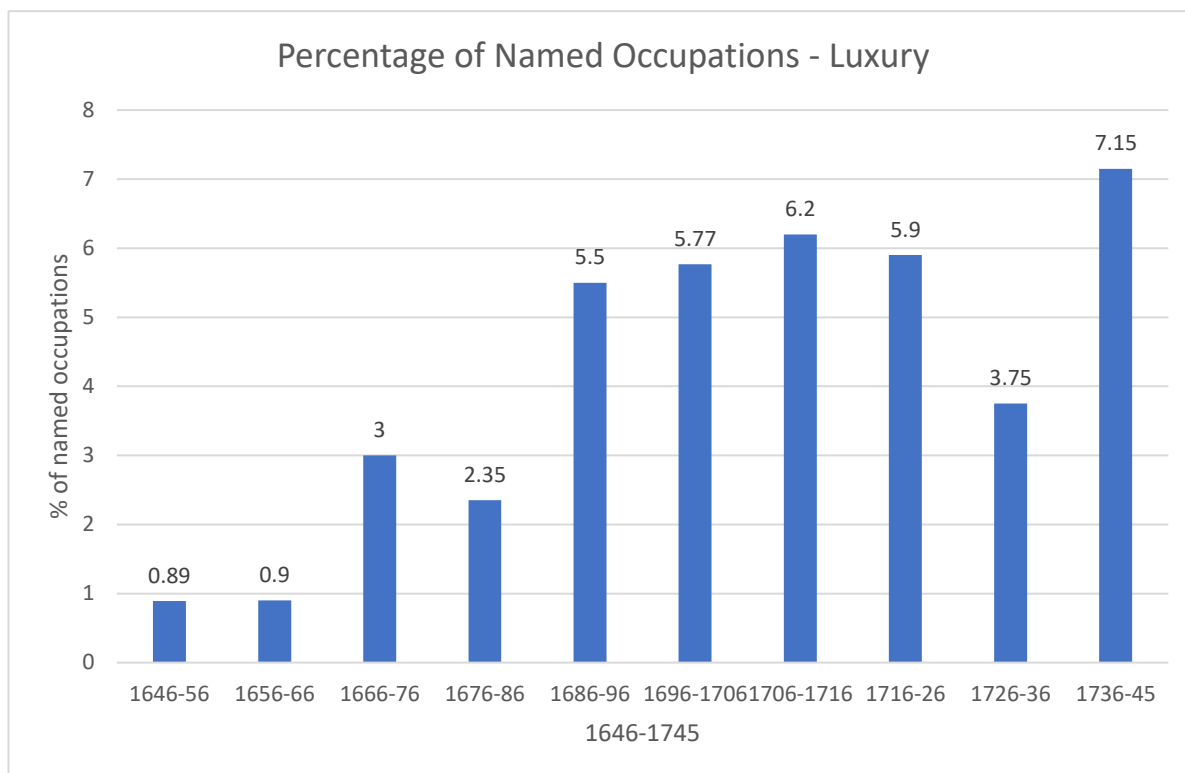
¹⁹⁴ McInnes, *The English Town*, pp.14-5



Graph 4 - Percentage of freemen involved in buying/selling 1646-1745



Graph 5 - Percentage of freeman involved in making/selling 1646-1745



Graph 6 - Percentage of freemen with 'luxury' occupations in Freeman Rolls 1646-1745

luxury occupations rose markedly from less than 1% to 7% (fig. 19). However not all those involved in luxury occupations were retailers, some provided services such as dancing master, writing master or printer.

Luxury trades all produced or provided higher value goods or services to a growing consumer base. Although still a small proportion of freemen at this time the figures show an upwards progression which would continue until the end of the 18th century.¹⁹⁵ New high status sellers arrived in the early 18th century, such as confectioners, sugar bakers, clock and watchmakers, jewellers and soap makers.¹⁹⁶ These would all have ready markets in those who attended the fairs and the visiting and resident gentry who now had money to spend and an appetite to consume.

¹⁹⁵ Stobart, 'Retailing Revolution in the Eighteenth Century?', p.6

¹⁹⁶ Bennett, 'Freemen Rolls of City of Chester Vol. II'

Shops would begin to be arranged in certain areas of the city, generally those streets closest to the Cross, with a hierarchy of the best shops on the row and lesser shops at street level.¹⁹⁷ Eventually markets would be moved into purpose-built halls so that shoppers could concentrate on their genteel shopping experience.

By the mid-18th century Chester's economy had ridden a storm of disease; migration and emigration; and industrial competition. It had used a flexible approach to grow its economy, and was able to benefit from changes in elite sensibilities to downgrade its older and less profitable industries to concentrate on alternative sectors such as retail and marketing. Although in national terms Chester remained a small city with no pretensions towards industrial titan, it was able to carve out a different path influenced by the 'polite and commercial' ethos of the gentry.¹⁹⁸ The next chapter will consider the rise of the gentry and how it was catered for, focusing on leisure pursuits and also how the built environment followed the pattern of urban renaissance.

¹⁹⁷ Jon Stobart, 'The Shopping Streets of Provincial England 1650-1840' in *The Landscape of Consumption: Shopping Streets and Cultures in Western Europe, 1600-1900*, edited by Jan Hein Furnée and Clé Lesger, (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014), p.19

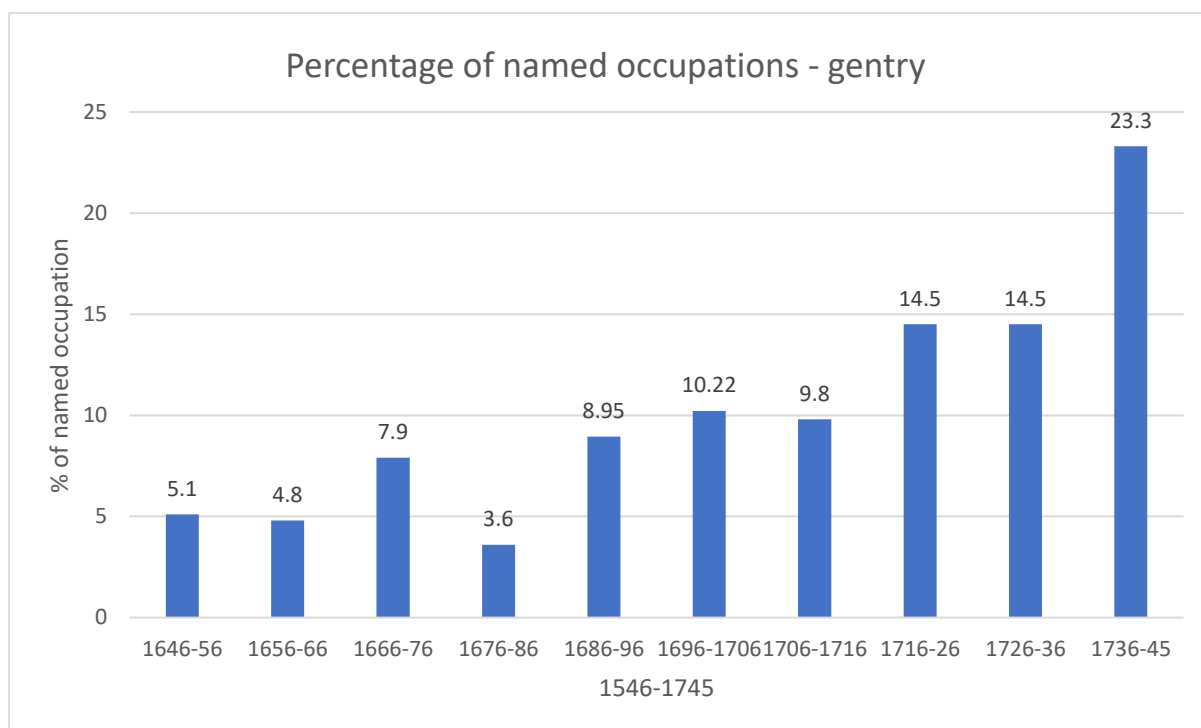
¹⁹⁸ Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), p.1

Chapter Three – The Gentry Town

Once the city's economy had recovered, Chester's elite were able to shape it into a social centre for themselves and their wealthy visitors. The period from the Restoration on shows a rise in the urban gentry's impact on the environment and economy. Change was necessarily piecemeal, due to the damage caused by the war and plague, and because it was enacted by individuals rather than as a grand civic project. Nevertheless, the progression of the city shows a substantial physical transformation, alongside its social one. This chapter will first examine the rise of the urban gentry in Chester and how their influence changed the built environment of the city, as well as the street environment. It will then look at how they changed the social and leisure sector in the city, in order to mould it to their tastes.

After the siege and plague much of the city was damaged, and Chester began to rebuild as early as the 1650's in order to make the city functional. However, the city did not change substantially until after the Restoration when fortunes began to revive and its demography began to shift. As recorded numbers of poor decreased, Freeman Rolls show that those identifying themselves as gentry rose, with a sustained growth interrupted briefly during the 1676-1686 period (graph 7). Using probate records Stobart estimates there were between fifty and seventy gentry families living in Chester at any one time, between 1680 and 1760.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Jon Stobart, 'Who were the urban gentry? Social elites in an English provincial town, c. 1680–1760', *Continuity and Change* 26 (1), 2011 <doi:10.1017/S0268416011000038> [accessed 11-11-18], p.93



Graph 7 - Percentage of Freeman identifying as Gentry 1646-1745

Revisiting the hearth tax returns shows a 25% increase in housing with 10+ hearths between 1664 and 1672 (table 3). This could be deceptive and cannot be attributed solely to a wealthier class building larger homes. The figure will also represent the number of inns that were beginning to exploit the burgeoning service sector which continued to grow into the 18th century. Indeed, Alldridge's study of the 1664 Hearth Tax, cross-examined with the probate records, shows that the average house for gentlemen consisted of no more than seven hearths, and the most common

	Poor exempted	1-3	4-6	7-9	10+
1664	650	576	268	78	36
1672	337	668	281	83	45
Difference	313	92	13	5	9
Percentage diff	-48.15%	+15.97%	+4.85%	+6.41%	+25%

Table 3 - Hearth Tax Returns 1664 and 1672

consisted of six (table 4).²⁰⁰ How this translated by 1672 would require further investigation using a similar formula, but it is an important reminder that wealth did not always translate into the biggest houses. However, what is apparent from the hearth tax returns is that there is a rise in the number of houses being built across the board, pointing to a rise in wealth and activity.

Table 4 - Dwelling-sizes of gentry, Chester, 1664-5 Alldridge, 'House and Household in Restoration Chester', p.45

No. of hearths	no.	%	No. of hearths	no.	%		
1	2	15	9	2	17.5		
2	4		10	2			
3	2	10	11	1			
4	2		12	2			
5	5	42.5	13	2	15		
6	8		14				
7	4		15	3			
8			16	1			
Total: 40							
Mean: 7.1							
Mode: 6							

The influence of the new urban gentry on Chester's built environment should not be underestimated. The urban gentry consisted of wealthy individuals; after the Restoration they were generally Royalist sympathisers with ties to the corporation and a strong sense of duty towards the city.²⁰¹ Traditional gentry also included rural landowners who came to the city for court, church and administrative duties. However, as personal income grew through a strong economy, merchants and professionals also began to identify as gentlemen. These continued to have strong

²⁰⁰ Alldridge, N. (1983). 'House and household in Restoration Chester'. *Urban History*, 10, 1983, p.45. <doi:10.1017/S0963926800013225> [accessed 27-05-19-]

²⁰¹ Ruggiu, F. 'The urban gentry in England, 1660–1780: a French approach'. *Historical Research*, 74 (2001) <doi:10.1111/1468-2281.00127> [accessed 11-11-18], p.259

links with the city's Corporation and were able to combine political influence and money to drive change in line with new tastes.²⁰² Although the link to politics became less important for the gentry by the second half of the 18th century, at the Restoration, Chester's gentry were tightly linked to civic administration.²⁰³ Chester was a node for polite society, welcoming visitors for the Quarter Sessions and County Courts; holding a garrison which included an officer class seeking genteel status; it was the seat of the Diocese of Chester; and merchants attending markets and fairs were also becoming increasingly able to spend surplus income.²⁰⁴ Wealthy visitors from a large hinterland would descend on Chester at regular intervals, whilst there they sought entertainment. Clark explains: 'the Gentry were welcome visitors and townsmen pandered to their presence: by offering a growing selection of shops and professional services; by staging entertainments, firework shows and ceremonies; by building more classical, brick and tiled houses; by initiating improvement schemes, making the streets passable for carriages and providing piped water supplies; and last, but not least, by encouraging the participation of county magnates in town politics.'²⁰⁵

However, towns were not monolithic beings that could consciously create all of these wonders for the gentry; instead the gentry were agents in this process, responsible for supply as well as demand, by building their own new fashionable houses; by influencing corporation decisions on regulation and improvement; and by prosecuting in the courts with their own legal power. Most importantly though, was the gentry's ability to spend. Borsay argues that linked to spending was status; now

²⁰² Whinton, Emma Jean, 'Politics and Culture in the City 1660-1790: The Corporation and the Development of Chester' (PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, 2000)
<<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.251088>> [accessed 30-10-18], p.2

²⁰³ Ruggiu, 'The Urban Gentry in England', p.259

²⁰⁴ Jon Stobart, 'Who were the urban gentry?' p.95, p.92

²⁰⁵ Clark, Peter (ed) *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, pp22-3

that subsistence was no longer the aim of accumulating wealth, the elite instead spent their surplus income exploring new pursuits, such as art, literature, drama and architecture.²⁰⁶ They would now use extravagant spending as a way of buying into the elite status they desired. This drove retail in Chester to supply new luxury items, as well as new ways to buy them, through permanent shops and displays in the Rows.²⁰⁷ This began to develop during our period but would not become a mature sector until the later half of the 18th century.²⁰⁸

Rebuilding the old, Creating the New - Architecture

A much earlier development steered by the gentry was the arrival of classical architecture. Chester's ability to rebuild after the siege was slow, there were spaces in the city for at least ten years after, which can be seen in church surveys and individual accounts.²⁰⁹ However, by 1657 rebuilding was underway, quarter session files show sixteen prosecutions for leaving timber in the streets, probably a result of rebuilding work. There were also prosecutions for at least twenty-five encroachments into the street, including Thomas Annion, Mrs Ball, and Robert Donson all for encroachment caused by the building of shops. Thomas Aspinall was called for 'erecting a new Building in the Row which said building is juttet out into the street to the annoyance of his neighbour's prospect.' There were numerous entries for building porches, a form of encroachment which often led to permanent structures

²⁰⁶ Peter Borsay, 'Culture, Status, and The English Urban Landscape'. *History*, 67: 1-12. (1982) <doi:10.1111/j.1468-229X.1982.tb01379.x> [accessed 11-09-19], p.4-5

²⁰⁷ See Chapter Two

²⁰⁸ Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Spaces', p.16

²⁰⁹ Porter, p.205; King, *The History of Cheshire containing King's Vale Royal*, p.37

built in front of existing properties.²¹⁰ Other prosecutions included building works that obstructed paths including Alderman Harvey ‘and his partie’ who were prosecuted for ‘stopping up the passage upon the walls’ when rebuilding the water tower. They were also taken to task for creating a ‘dangerous clay pit and stone quarry’ on Hough Green, which ‘have very much impayred and spoyled the highway’.²¹¹ All of these suggest that the courts were running to keep up with the building activity underway in the city.

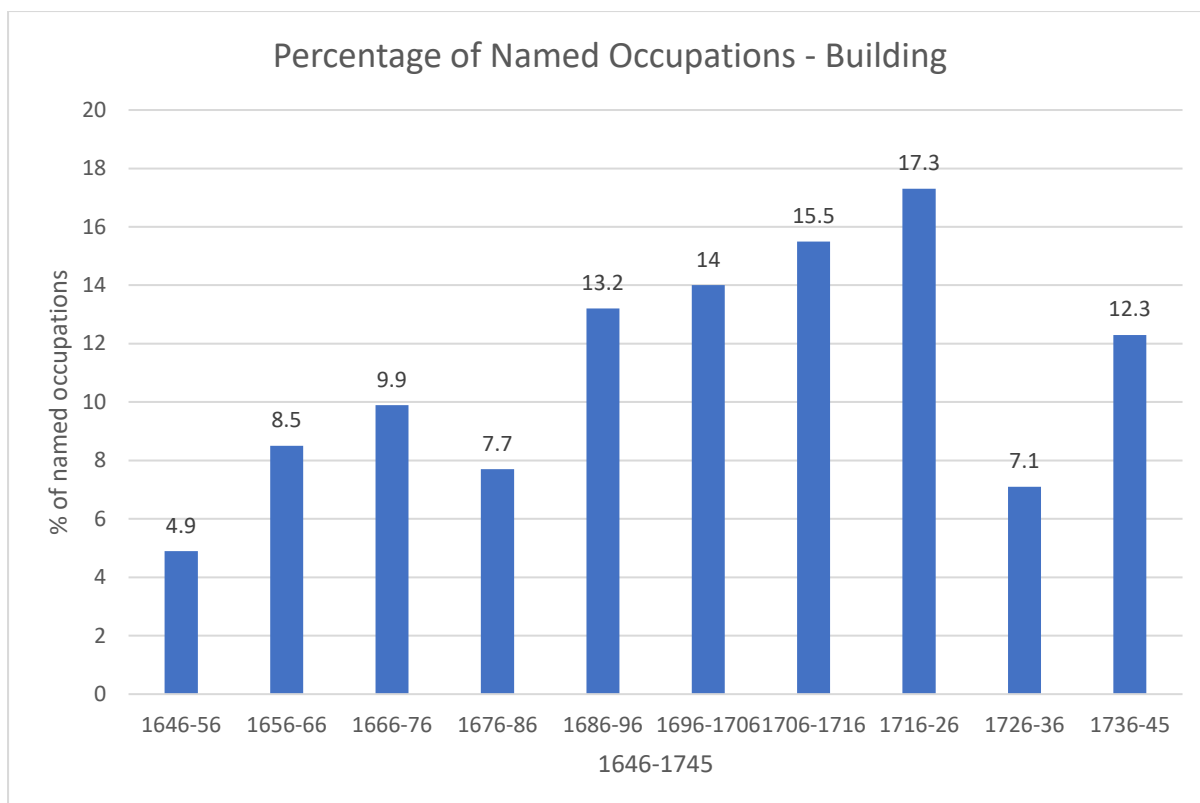
However, by the Restoration and especially by the 1680’s, building was becoming even bigger business. The Freeman Rolls show a steady growth in building roles, no doubt caused by the Assembly order that houses in the main streets were to be built only in slate or tile, and that existing thatched houses had to change ‘by the following feast of All Saints’ in 1671 (see figure 8). A telling choice of language states that this was ‘for ornament and for securing the city from fire’.²¹² These two concerns – beauty and safety – played important roles in Chester’s development; however, the ordering of the words points to something that was happening in many provincial towns. Beauty and uniformity were becoming a priority to the fashionable townscape.²¹³

²¹⁰ AN Brown, JC Grenville, RC Turner, *Watergate Street: An Interim Report of the Chester Rows Research Project*, Chester Archaeological Society (Denbigh, Gee and Son, 1988), p.12

²¹¹ CALS Quarter Sessions - Miscellaneous file Peter Leigh, Mayor 1656-7, Thomas Minshull, Mayor 1657-8 [John Ratcliffe], Recorder, QSF/78/1/1657

²¹² CALS, Second Assembly Book, 13-01-1671, ZA/B/2/170v-171

²¹³ Borsay, Culture, Status, and The English Urban Landscape’, p.7



Graph 8 - Percentage of freemen occupations involved in Building 1646-1745

The gentry were instrumental in this transformation, influenced by fashions initiated in London.²¹⁴ The capital's culture had a huge stimulus effect on provincial towns, even as far away as Chester. Although the distance allowed the city to develop its own civic identity – one of the most clear indications of this was the retention of the Rows (which will be investigated more thoroughly below) – the metropolis was still essential in the mix of muses that spurred gentry activity. Merchants and mariners regularly travelled to and from the capital for business.²¹⁵ Freemen rolls show both a familial and a political link as forty-five Londoners, all originally sons or pupils of Chester freemen, are packed into the 1732 election freemen list.²¹⁶ If they were not

²¹⁴ Borsay, 'The Restoration Town', p.172

²¹⁵ Stobart, 'Town, County and Country', p.190

²¹⁶ Bennett, 'The Rolls of the Freemen of Chester' Part II, p.301-306

living in Chester, it is likely that they travelled to Chester at least for elections which would require a metropolitan atmosphere and social scene to accommodate them.

The most obvious indication of a polite and fashionable town would have been its architecture. The classical style of architecture, first seen in London in the early 17th century, but adopted on a grand scale in the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire in 1666, began to spread to other provincial towns aspiring to metropolitan refinement.²¹⁷ Its order, universality and precedence of beauty over function, were all antithetical to the predominant vernacular style.²¹⁸ Wealthy individuals aspired to these new values and built accordingly.

One of the earliest buildings for this new style was Bridge House, on Bridge Street (now Lower Bridge Street) built by Lady Mary Calveley (fig. 12). In 1676 she petitioned to enclose and replace her Row property to be replaced with a house 'as may be a grace and ornament to the city.' This was granted and she was allowed to build a neoclassical five-bayed grand house.²¹⁹ A large staircase up to the door was built in 1678 (possibly not long after completion of the main building), which would have been at the original row level and encroached onto the street. She was ordered to pay for this, a 20s fine and 5s yearly rent (although the latter was revoked a few months later)²²⁰. This set a precedent for other watching gentry. Indeed, her

²¹⁷ Borsay, 'Culture, Status and the Urban Landscape', p.6

²¹⁸ Borsay, 'Culture, Status and the Urban Landscape', p.5-9

²¹⁹ CALS Second Assembly Book, 12-10-1676, ZAB/2/184-184v

²²⁰ CALS, Assembly Minute Book, 20-09-1678, ZAB/2/188-188v; CALS Assembly Minute Book, 22-12-1678, ZAB/2/189

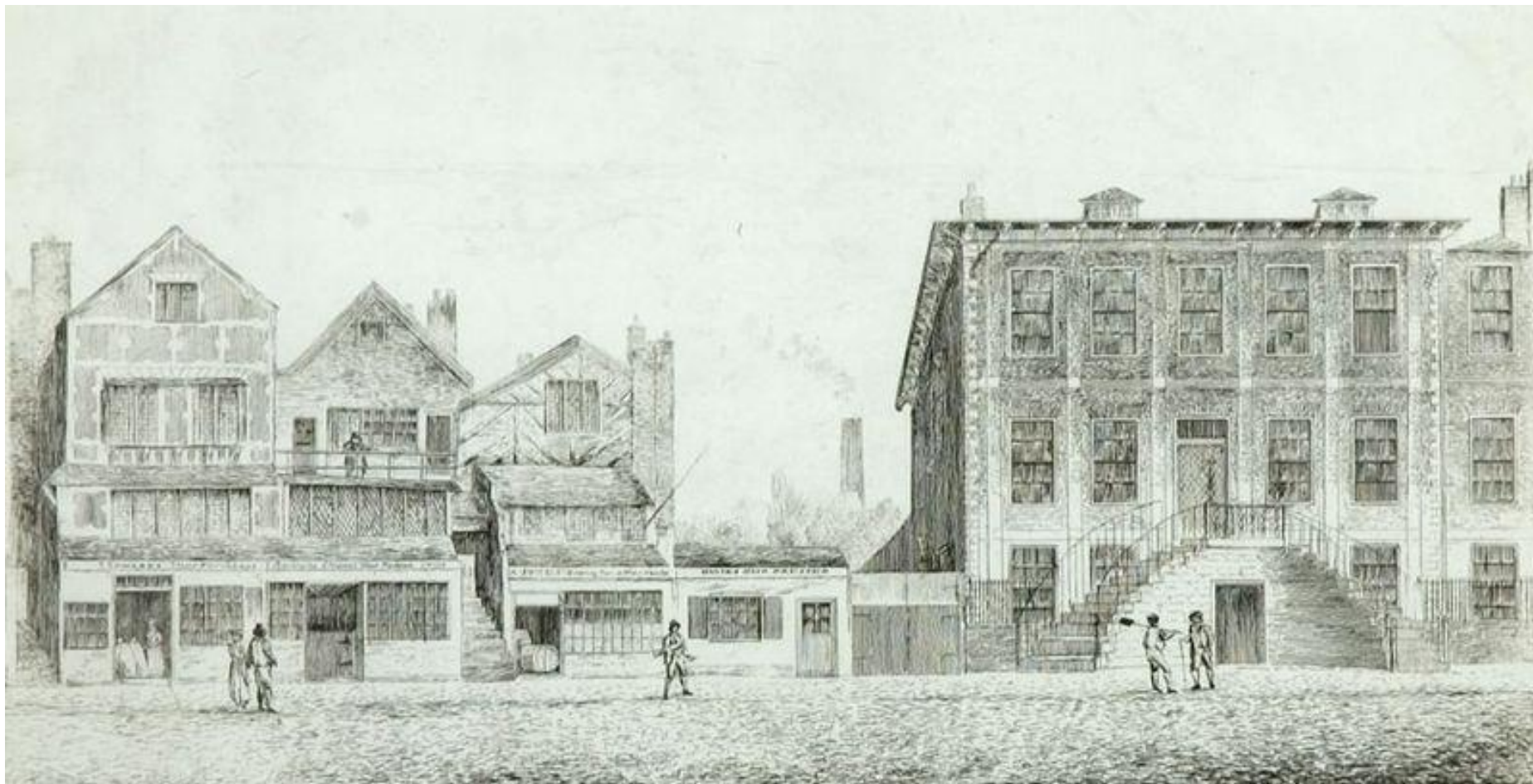


Figure 12 - Bridge House (right) with circular staircase up to original row level. Batenham Engraving (c.1816), from Hughes, *Ancient Chester*, Plate XV, from Cheshire Archives and Local Studies

neighbour Thomas Wright 'petitioned for liberty to put forth his shop in the Bridgstreete a foot street-ward so far as the street door of Lady Mary Calveley'. This was also granted.²²¹

Encroachment, whilst appearing a serious issue in the 1650's, was becoming more acceptable. Enclosure regularly involved encroachment onto the street.²²² Around 50 known petitions exist for property owners on the Rows to enclose their buildings, with varying success. Many were granted, once a fine or rent was paid.²²³ Enclosure involved permanently removing the Row, creating a new room for the property and, possibly just as important, facing it with a uniform classical front (see figs 13-15). However, properties closest to the Cross on Watergate Street, Bridge Street or Eastgate Street were protected from this process by the Assembly, (see figure 16). There are a number of possible reasons why these rows were retained, whilst those at the lower end of Bridge Street were enclosed. One explanation may concern ownership, the lower end of Bridge Street was occupied by wealthier residents who would have been more able to pay fines and rents.²²⁴ Lady Mary Calveley was initially ordered to pay £20 which could have equated to over half a year's wages for a skilled workman.²²⁵ Secondly, these wealthy residents were already involved in the Corporation, and those who were not would at least have known someone who was; knowing the right people has always been a powerful tool. It should also be recognised that the properties closest to the Cross were also likely to be occupied

²²¹ CALS, Assembly Minute Book, 20-09-1678, ZAB/2/188-188v

²²² Brown, Grenville, Turner, *Watergate Street*, p.11-12

²²³ Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p.151-155

²²⁴ Emily Cockayne, 'Petitions, neighbours, and civic planning in England', p.14

²²⁵ The National Archives, Currency Converter 1270-2017, (London, The National Archives, 2017) <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result> [accessed 13-09-19]



11 Lower Bridge Street - a row which stops due to enclosure.

Figure 13 - Above - shows the new room created in the enclosed building. (Taken by the author)

Figure 14 - Top right - entrance onto the row. (Taken by the author)

Figure 15 - Bottom right - the row flanked by enclosed buildings. (©Dennis Turner, geograph.org.uk/p/694702)

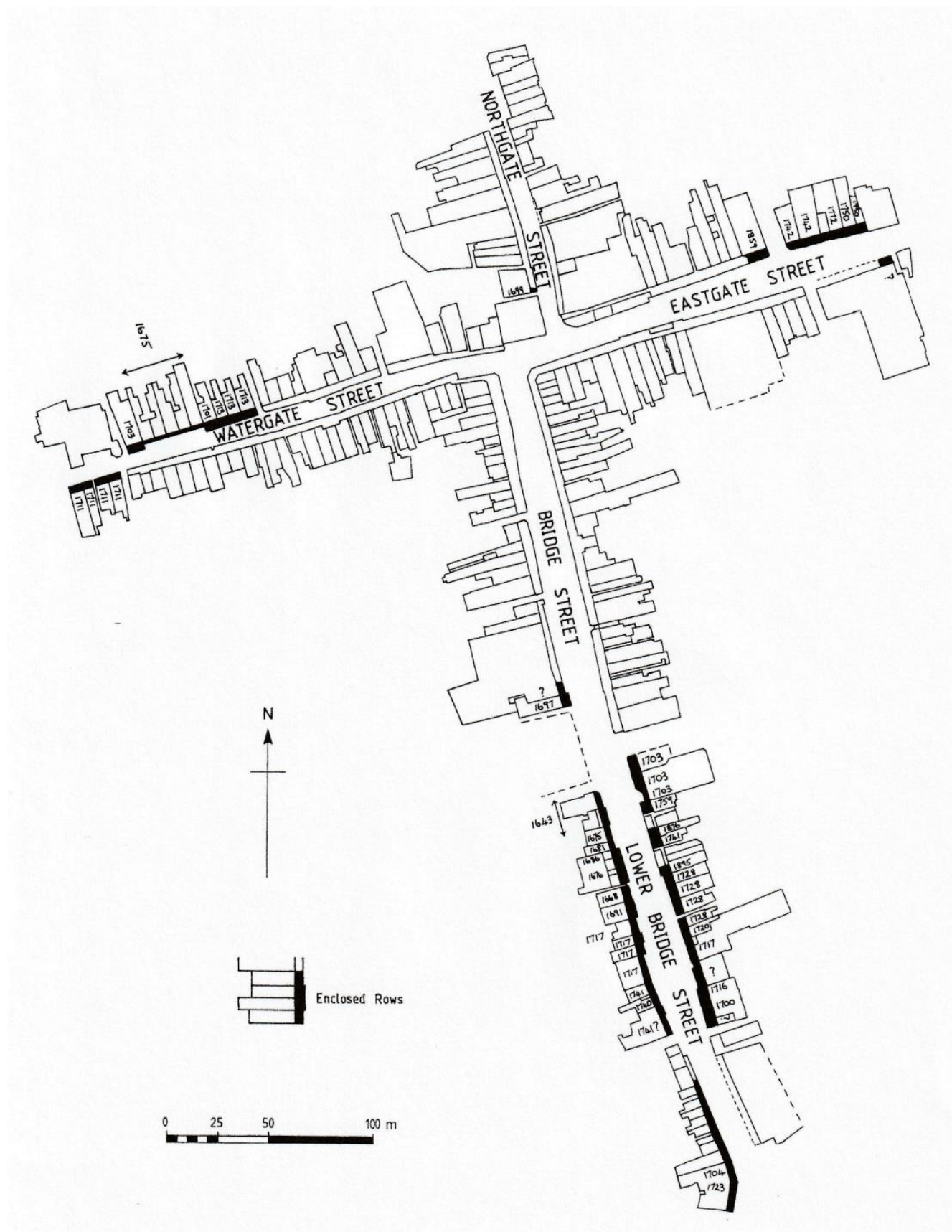


Figure 16 - The Extent and Date of the Enclosure of the Rows, © Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p.97

by multiple owners making enclosure more difficult than in Lower Bridge Street where they were owned by individuals.

Another reason is linked to civic identity. During this period contemporary observers often mentioned the Rows as a feature of the city. In 1656, Daniel King describes them as 'galleries' 'that a man may go dry from one place of the city to another', he adds that 'this manner of building I have not heard of in any other place in Christendom.'²²⁶ Celia Fiennes (1698) explains 'they have made penthouses so broad set on pillars w^{ch} persons walk under Covert, and is made up and down steps under which are ware houses...'²²⁷ Daniel Defoe in his *Tour Thro' the Whole Island* (c.1724) describes them as 'certain long galleries' which 'it is pretended, they are to keep the people dry in walking along. This they do indeed effectually...'²²⁸ The Rows were clearly a part of Chester's identity, a unique feature that immediately distinguished the city in people's minds. Important dignitaries, such as royalty and the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, would have been given a public welcome in the main streets before retiring to the Pentice at the Cross.²²⁹ The Rows would have been an immediate statement of individuality. Knowles describes them as a 'considerable source of antiquarian pride'.²³⁰ However, it must be observed that Defoe and Fiennes were not impressed by the Rows, finding them 'dark, dirty and uneven'.²³¹ Both complain that they are a hindrance to the beauty of the broad streets. Moreover, vernacular architecture like this was becoming unfashionable.

²²⁶ King, *The History of Cheshire containing King's Vale Royal*, p.70

²²⁷ Celia Fiennes, 'Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary', *Vision of Britain* <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Fiennes/22>, (Portsmouth, Great Britain Historical GIS Project, 2009-17)

²²⁸ Daniel Defoe, 'A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies,' Letter 7, Part 1, *Vision of Britain* (Portsmouth, Great Britain Historical GIS Project, 2009-17) <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Defoe/24> [accessed 13-09-19]

²²⁹ Whinton, 'Politics and Culture in the City 1660-1790', p.246

²³⁰ Knowles, 'Continuity and change in urban culture' p.87

²³¹ Defoe, 'A Tour thro' the whole island', Letter 7, Part 1

Nevertheless retaining the Rows may represent a different part of new sensibilities, that of the whole street view.²³² Borsay argues that there was a greater perception of the urban landscape as an integrated body rather than a number of individual properties.²³³ This meant that the street was viewed as a whole. Residents wanted uniformity, a considerable number of them petitioning the Assembly to allow their property to 'range even with the other buildings on each side'²³⁴ However, allowing piecemeal enclosures within the street would have made the streetscape less uniform not more. The Rows were the uniting architectural feature and allowing even a few would have broken this. To enclose all of the Rows would have needed an overarching civic project, almost impossible when considering the number of occupiers in these streets, not just those above and below but often multiple tenants in individual properties.²³⁵ Indeed, the Rows were allowed to be changed to more classical frontages, as long as they kept the Row within. An impressive early example of this is Booth Mansion, from c.1700, built by Alderman George Booth who paid £10 for encroaching into the street, so that the building was angled to be seen from the Cross (fig 17-18).²³⁶ It was used as assembly rooms for genteel entertainments and balls from the 1740s, although as the mansion of an eminent gentleman it was probably always used for entertaining.²³⁷ Booth Mansion shows that a single owner was able to completely rechange the style of the Rows, as long as the unifying Rows

²³² Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.61

²³³ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.80

²³⁴ CALS, Third Assembly Book, John Barnston Esq. petition 28-04-1704, ZA/B/3/120-22

²³⁵ Cockayne, 'Petitions, Neighbours and Civic Planning', p.14-16

²³⁶ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 12-07-1670, ZA/B/3/80v-81; Stephen Langtree, Alan Comyns, '*2000 Years of Building – Chester's Architectural Legacy*', (Chester, The Chester Civic Trust, 2001), p.66

²³⁷ Historic England, 'Numbers 28 And 30 Row Booth Mansion Numbers 28-34 Street', (London, Historic England, 2019) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1376434>> [accessed 13-09-19]



Left – Figure 17 - Booth Mansion, Watergate Street, c1700, a neoclassical refacing of the Rows ©Peter I. Vardy https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Booth_Mansion_2.jpg

Above – Figure 18 - The Row retained by Booth Mansion, with classical pillars and arches. The picture also shows the angle of the path. © John S Turner - geograph.org.uk/p/1141780

were retained; this was repeated in many properties eventually leading to the piecemeal effect that the Assembly might have been trying to prevent (see figs 19-20).

Classical was not the only style that influenced builders at this time. Both the Dutch Houses (c.1670's) and what is now the Bear and Billet (1664) were both inspired by Dutch merchant houses (figs 21-22).²³⁸ They represent early rebuilding before the classical fashion took hold, and show inspiration likely to be from Chester's port and trading background.

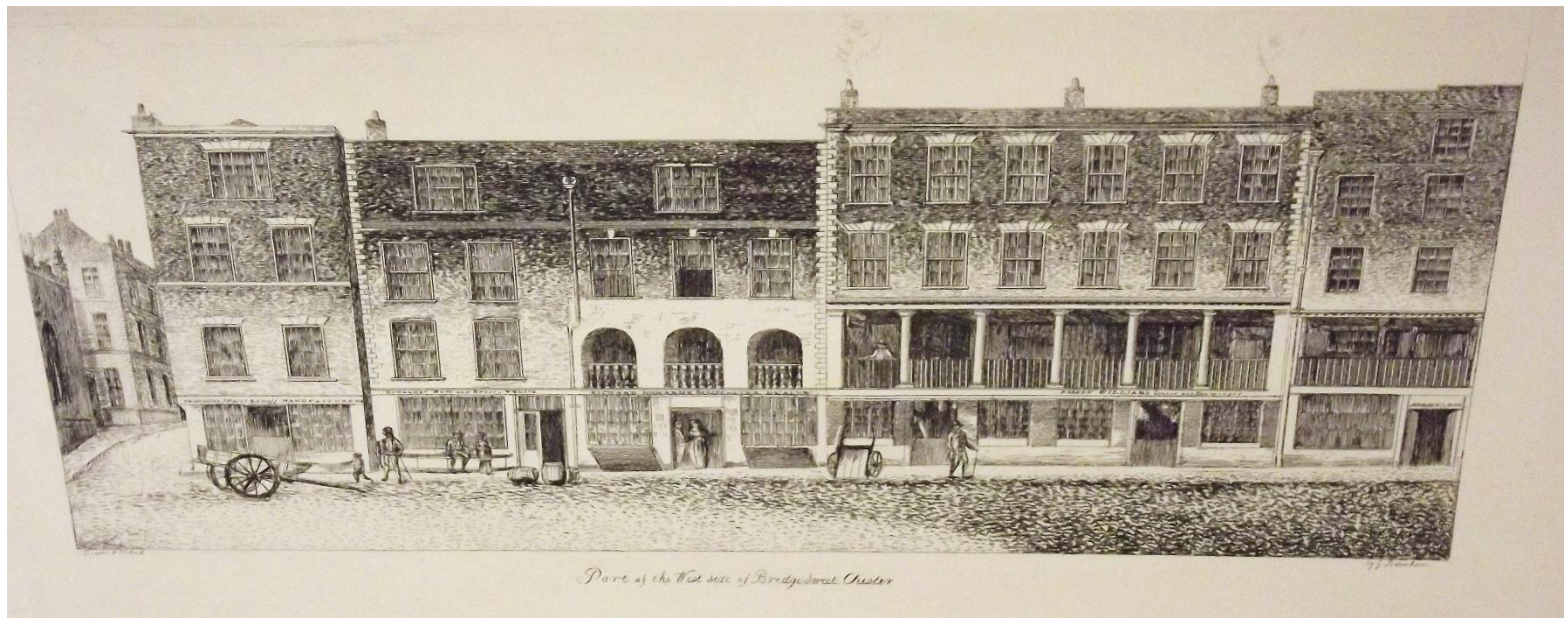
Moreover, until the regulation in 1670 to build in brick and tile, rebuilding continued in the vernacular style so that in 1698 Celia Fiennes was able to write that the buildings were mainly timber.²³⁹ This included the hugely unpopular Lambs' Row, a large and overbearing black and white house extended in the 1670s, and the subject of many petitions against it. It stood only a couple of houses down from Bridge House (fig.23). The contrast would have been striking and possibly embarrassing for the gentry, although it continued to evade prosecution because its owner, Randle Holme, was one of the most venerable of the elite.²⁴⁰

Refashioning was slow because it depended on individual owners to do the work and, often, had to afford to pay the fine which inevitably followed. Therefore, Chester during this period was again in a transitional state, unable to completely cast off its Stuart veneer until the latter half of the 18th century at the earliest.

²³⁸ Langtree, Comyns, '2000 Years of Building – Chester's Architectural Legacy', pp.104-107

²³⁹ Fiennes, 'Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary'

²⁴⁰ Cockayne, 'Petitions, neighbours, and Civic Planning in England,' p.18-19



Batenham's engravings of Bridge Street, c1816, from Hughes, Ancient Chester, (Cheshire Archives and Local Studies)

Above - Figure 19 – Plate XVIII - Bridge Street from Whitefriars (left) – shows straight neoclassical lines

Left – Figure 20 –Plate XIX - Bridge Street from Commonhall Street (left) – shows a mix of architectural styles, including Dutch Houses (c1670)



Figure 21 - Bear and Billet, 1664. Influenced by Dutch merchant houses, this vernacular style shows the trend towards order and symmetry, before the neo-classical arrived in Chester.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beer_%26_Billet,_Chester_\(2\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beer_%26_Billet,_Chester_(2).JPG)



Figure 22 - Dutch Houses, c1670s, inspired by Dutch merchant houses, showing building influences went beyond neo-classical pre 1700 ©Harry Mitchell
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dutch_Houses,_Bridge_Street,_Chester.JPG



Figure 23 – Lambs' Row on Bridge Street, extended in the 1670's and disliked by neighbours. Lithograph by Charles Hullmandel, 1821. <http://francisnicholsonowcs.co.uk/gallery-3.html>

Once the city was beginning to re-establish its footing, Chester's authorities began to set out regulations to keep the urban environment safe and well-presented.

Encroachment onto the street was a continual battle for the courts, and in 1678, it was ordered that 'all benches or show boards in the rows or streets should be made with hinges so that they could be folded up at night in order to prevent any hurt to persons travelling the rows and streets.'²⁴¹ In 1700 another order banned people from breaking up or making holes in the streets or pavements 'for erecting stalls or standings at the Fairs'.

Residents continued to be prosecuted for 'muck hills' and 'broken pavements' throughout the period, indeed Knowles suggests that there may be more continuity to the street improvements rather than a surge in activity spurred by an urban renaissance.²⁴² The city underwent a paving project in the 1580s and employed pavers throughout the period, from 1584 onwards.²⁴³ In the 1670-80's the Assembly was actively engaged in working out a street scavenging schemes with assessments ordered in 1670, 1677 and 1686. It seems that these orders may have met with variable success as by 1687 the blunt order came: 'A former order concerning the cleaning of the streets and the payment of the Scavenger was to be put into speedy execution'.²⁴⁴ Knowles states that the scavenging scheme collapsed entirely by 1691 and the corporation reverted to individual household responsibility.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ CALS, 11-07-1678 Second Assembly Book ZA/B/2/176-176v

²⁴² Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture,' p.79; CALS Quarter Sessions Miscellaneous File, ZQSF 78, 1657; CALS Quarter Sessions Files, 1674-1682, ZQSF/82

²⁴³ Stobart, 'Streets as Shopping Spaces', p.15; CALS Second Assembly Book, 06-04-1652, ZA/B/2/98-98v;

CALS Third Assembly Book, 18-06-1686, ZA/B/3/5-8; CALS Third Assembly Book, 07-01-1701, ZA/B/3/93-95; Freeman entries for 'pavier' exist in 1678, 1696, 1720, 1721, 1731 – Bennett, 'Freemen Rolls of the City of Chester' Vols I-II (Appendix 3b)

²⁴⁴ CALS Second Assembly Book, 28-10-1670 ZA/B/2/169-169v; Second Assembly Book 22-12-1677, ZA/B/2/187-187v; Third Assembly Book, 08-10-1686 ZA/B/3/9v-10v; Third Assembly Book 02-06-1687, ZA/B/3/13

²⁴⁵ Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture', p.81

Fire safety was also a paramount concern. Although some regulations were set out by the assembly before 1700, it appears that a number of large fires were still breaking out, Henry Prescott mentions fires in 1707, 1708 and February 1709, the last behind the White Lion in Crooks Lane, being particularly fierce and damaging. It would appear that this was the cause for a series of orders in May 1709, which forbade smoking in flax or ostler's shops; keeping gunpowder in the lower levels of buildings; or the keeping of large amounts of gorse or other fuel. It also set out the responsibility of the water engine crews.²⁴⁶

Lighting also became another priority for a safe and polite city. The first order in 1694 told citizens to hang lights outside their doors.²⁴⁷ This was followed in 1705 when Henry Hall petitioned for a lease of a property in Eastgate Street where 'The tenant was to provide a convex lamp, like those used in London', the appeal of the metropolitan a clear positive to the assembly who approved his lease.²⁴⁸ An application to Parliament for leave to erect lights 'in the streets, rows and public places' in 1726 was arguably a statement to the wider world of Chester's modernisation, telling them that the city was an elegant and safe place to visit.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Henry Prescott; *The Diary Of Henry Prescott, LL.B., Deputy Registrar Of Chester Diocese 28 March 1704-24 March 1711*, Vol. 1, edited By John Addy, (Birkenhead, The Record Society for Lancashire and Cheshire (Gloucester, Alan Sutton Publishing, 1987), p.131; p.196; p.219-220; CALS, Third Assembly Book, 13-05-1709, ZA/B/3/172v-5

²⁴⁷ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 09-11-1694, ZA/B/3/46-46v;

²⁴⁸ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 05-01-1705, ZA/B/3/127v-29v; CALS Third Assembly Book, 03-11-1704, ZA/B/3/127r,v

²⁴⁹ CALS, Fourth Assembly Book, 08-03-1726, ZA/B/4/(5v)

The Gentry Town

By the early 18th century, Chester had indeed started to become a visitor attraction. With a readymade gentry living in the city and visiting from its hinterland, Chester provided the leisure facilities that ensured their return. Gentlefolk were engaged in a variety of pursuits, including sports, walks, shopping, balls, assemblies and civic rituals. During this transitional period the city provided a mixture of older traditional recreations alongside new, more elegant pastimes, both of which the gentry engaged in.

Traditional activities that contributed to the social scene included civic ceremonies which, interrupted by the war and Commonwealth, were revived after the Restoration. Although supported by the civic elite, diminishing participation and some resistance from guilds concerned with their expense, meant that they had varied fortunes, some failing entirely, others surviving only surviving another fifty years, and some combined with other events.²⁵⁰ The revival of civic ceremony would undoubtedly have had an important psychological impact on the recovering city, allowing them to make a statement that the city had re-established its place in the world with the elite back at the top. However, dwindling support may reflect a changing world where important actors, such as the guilds, were declining in power; the elite were choosing alternative forms of pomp, such as balls and assemblies; and traditional pursuits were beginning to look old-fashioned in an age where fashion was becoming a priority.²⁵¹ The annual Mid-summer show involved the civic authorities and guilds providing plays and processions that paraded through the streets, including 'guards, four giants, the Mayor's Mount, the Elephant and Castle,

²⁵⁰ Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture,' p.36-40

²⁵¹ Bolton, 'The Chester Companies in the Seventeenth Century', p.24

four beasts, four hobby horses and the merchants' mount'.²⁵² The city guilds provided extravagant props, hired performers and held banquets after the procession.²⁵³ However, after the Restoration it suffered from poor attendance and, despite being moved to Whitsun in an attempt to renew its fortunes; it was discontinued in 1678.²⁵⁴ The Christmas Watch, although reinstated in 1672, was also cancelled in 1682.²⁵⁵

Although traditional ceremony became less desirable, civic cultural pursuits continued to boom. The city, long practised in holding celebrations and processions through the streets, continued to receive dignitaries, especially from Ireland; to commemorate royal birthdays and national events such as success in foreign battles, and to hold lavish mayoral elections. Henry Prescott describes thanksgiving after the Battle of Blenheim: 'I dine at my Lords with a great company, thence to prayers, after to the Pentice where a liberal Entertainment, universall joy and illuminations fill and beautify the town.'²⁵⁶ Throughout his diary bells, bonfires and celebrations to accompany many key events in the War of the Spanish Succession, proceedings that would have acted as another kind of civic identity forming, this time placing the city in the national scene.²⁵⁷ Processions and celebrations often took place in the streets bringing together the elite, the middling sorts and the ordinary Cestrian; although playing different parts they knew their roles and were able to

²⁵² Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture', p.38

²⁵³ Bolton, 'The Chester Companies in the Seventeenth Century', p.20

²⁵⁴ Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture', p.39

²⁵⁵ J S Barrow and others, 'Leisure and culture: Plays, sports and customs before 1700', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions*, ed. A T Thacker and C P Lewis (London, 2005), pp. 247-255. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp247-255> [accessed 15 September 2019].

²⁵⁶ Prescott, 'The Diary of Henry Prescott', 07-09-1705, p.19

²⁵⁷ Prescott, 'The Diary of Henry Prescott', 20-07-1705, p.62; 26-04-1706, p.97; 19-05-1706, p.100; 24-05-1706, p.100; 08-07-1709, p.179; 06-09-1709, p.274

strengthen their identity as a historically loyal city.²⁵⁸ These customs may also have played a supplementary reason for the Assembly's decision to keep the Rows.

During these ceremonies the Rows, next to the Pentice, would have acted as a kind of theatrical setting, allowing the spectators to view the elite's pageantry in all of its glory, from positions where everybody was able to enjoy the spectacle. This would have helped consolidate the elite's position as a powerful force in the city.

Alongside civic celebrations, horse-racing proved a resilient county event that had always attracted the gentry even before the war. William Webb, in the c1610s, described the races: 'by running horses in presence of the mayor of the city, and his brethren; with such other lords, knights, ladies and gentlemen, as please, at those times, to accompany them with that view.'²⁵⁹ Before the war there had been an archery contest accompanying the races but when this was discontinued, horse-racing took its place as the essential aspect of the social calendar.²⁶⁰ The race-course was extended in 1709; by this time the races were concentrated onto St George's day, after running at Easter and Shrove Tuesday, with codified rules.²⁶¹ During this period Chester became part of a racing boom that saw a proliferation of courses and meetings.²⁶² Race meetings attracted a wide gathering of people, both gentry and those catering to them: hospitality trades, smiths and saddlers, and entertainment, all would have profited from the Chester races.²⁶³ The three day race established in the early 18th century would have been accompanied by assemblies

²⁵⁸ Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture', p.55-57

²⁵⁹ Webb, 'A Description of the City and County Palatine of Chester'

²⁶⁰ Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture', p.37

²⁶¹ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 07-10-1709, ZA/B/3/175-6; J S Barrow and others, 'Leisure and culture: Chester races', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions*, ed. A T Thacker and C P Lewis (London, 2005), pp. 255-260. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp255-260> [accessed 14 September 2019].

²⁶² Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance,' p.183

²⁶³ Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance,' p.185

and balls, drinking and banquets, and side entertainments such as cock-fighting.²⁶⁴

As an entertainment cock fighting saw the gentry and the ordinary folk rub shoulders, often in the yards of inns.²⁶⁵ Whilst this became an issue in the later part of the 18th century, as sensibilities began to segregate polite and vulgar pursuits, at this transitional stage, it was a popular activity for all classes.²⁶⁶

Other activities were also well established before the war, including bowling, with two greens already built by 1636, and another established in 1700.²⁶⁷ Moreover, the Roodee had been a focus of leisure from at least the early 17th century; again, Webb describes the Roodee as a 'fine spacious piece of ground of great pleasure and delight...used for a cow-pasture in the summer time; and all the year for a wholesome and pleasant walk by the side of the Dee, and for recreations of shooting, bowling, and such other exercises as are performed at certain times by men...'²⁶⁸

Walking was a regular pastime; Prescott often walked the Roodee.²⁶⁹ The walls were also walked, Fiennes and Defoe both write of walking them.²⁷⁰ The walls would have provided large-scale views, prospects that were becoming favoured in modern taste, aligned to viewing the environment as a whole, placing the viewer within the

²⁶⁴ On St. George's Day, 1705, Prescott mentions 'People crowd in to the races...The Queens health &c drunk in the Pentice, many Gentlemen treated.' 'The Diary of Henry Prescott', 23-04-1705, p.45

²⁶⁵ Barrow and others, 'Leisure and culture: Sport after 1700', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions*, ed. A T Thacker and C P Lewis (London, 2005), pp. 260-269. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp260-269> [accessed 15 September 2019]

²⁶⁶ Whinton, 'Politics and Culture in the City', p.215; Stobart, 'The Shopping Streets of Provincial England 1650-1840', p.30; Clark, *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, p.234

²⁶⁷ Barrow and others, 'Leisure and culture: Sport after 1700'

²⁶⁸ Webb, 'A Description of the City and County Palatine of Chester'

²⁶⁹ Prescott walks most days describing the number of 'turns' he takes on the Roodee, 'The Diary of Henry Prescott'

²⁷⁰ Celia Fiennes, 'Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary'; Defoe, 'A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies'



Figure 24 - Plaque on Pemberton's Parlour, listing Chester's elite and associating them with the repaving and repairing of the city walls. c.1700's
By John S Turner <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=13096314>

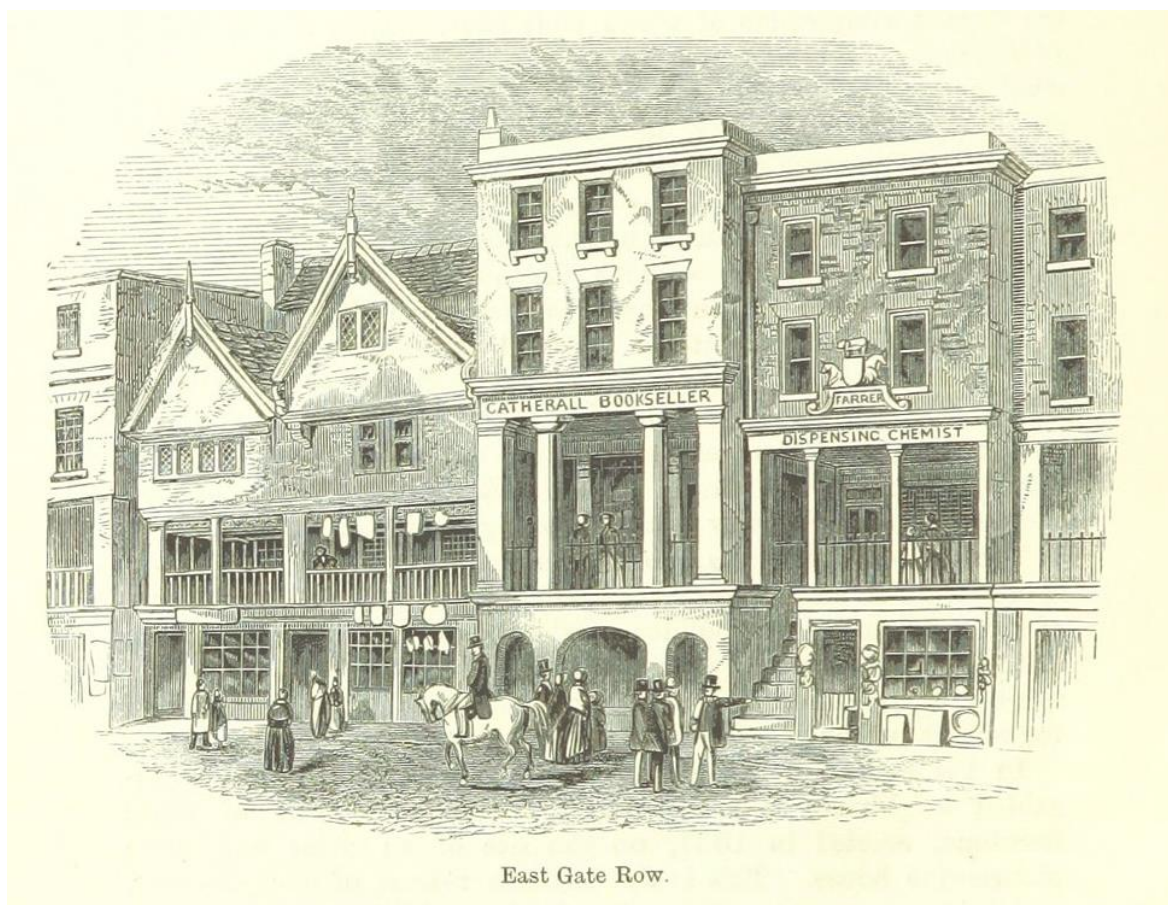


Figure 25 - Classical features on the Row pillars and fencing, from Hughes, *The Stranger's Handbook to Chester*, 1856, p.52

broader context of the landscape, as well as allowing them to evaluate what they saw within new constructs of beauty.²⁷¹ In 1728, William Cowper describes the walk around the walls as 'bless'd with a sweet and healthful Air, and commanding a free and uninterrupted Prospect; on the one side into the County of Chester, on the other, into Wales, with the intermediate views of the sea.'²⁷² The walls walk was reflagged and upgraded in 1706-7, the report by the Mayor, Recorder and Justices of the Peace stated that 'the Walls were in better condition than ever before in their memory.'²⁷³ A plaque to commemorate a substantial rebuilding project in the 1700's suggests over £1000 was spent on the project; with murage duty at this time spent on the walls from the import of linen-cloth. Although it is unclear how much was spent on the project, what is clear is that the elite wished to be associated with a prestigious civic project (fig. 24).

Another walk that was becoming fashionable in the mid to later 18th century was the Rows, undoubtedly linked to the rise in elegant shops in Bridge Street and Eastgate Street.²⁷⁴ Formerly considered 'dark, dirty and uneven', the refacing of the Rows into classical facades also improved the walkways themselves, as floors were relaid, ceilings were raised and bannisters and fencing made into classical wood or stone (fig.25).²⁷⁵

New walks were laid out including one near St John's Church in 1716, and the Groves beside the river, which became a dedicated spot for promenading from the

²⁷¹ Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.198-200

²⁷² William Cowper, in 'A Description of Chester in 1728', *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, 48, no.9701, April 1953, p.17-18

²⁷³ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 17-12-1706, ZA/B/3/145-7v; CALS, Third Assembly Book, 05-12-1707, ZA/B/3/155-7

²⁷⁴ Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Space', p.14-15

²⁷⁵ Defoe, 'A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies'; Stobart, 'The Shopping Streets of Provincial England 1650-1840', p.21

1720's.²⁷⁶ A lime tree walk was also set out beside the Cathedral, a precursor to the mid-18th century Abbey Square development.²⁷⁷

As the gentry gathered for business or sport, the city ensured that they had new and modern arenas to socialise in. If it is unclear how involved the elite were in repairing the walls, it is more obvious that the new Exchange Building (1694-8) was a mutual project for many of the Assembly's gentry, who contributed financially to the building. The ambition of this project appears to have caused some debt for the Assembly and it was ordered in 1700 that those admitted to Alderman or Councilman, who usually gave silver plate as a contribution to the Corporation (essentially buying into the position), were instead asked to give money. The Recorder gave £40 and the Clerk of the Pentice gave £30 in the same meeting.²⁷⁸ It is understandable that the authority was prepared to overspend and have to subsidise the city to build the Exchange, a building of this magnitude was both an important headquarters for a city that stood as the administrative centre of the North West, and a statement of modern civic identity, built in classical mode, 'seen to symbolize the prosperity, humanity, and prestige of the whole community.'²⁷⁹ This, and the plaques on the walls and on the new gates erected in the later part of the 18th century, show that the elite were intent not just on inflating their own reputation but also on bringing the town to as high a level as they were capable. Duty was a genuine feature of the corporate

²⁷⁶ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 1716, ZA/B/3/235v-236v; CALS, Fourth Assembly Book, 1725/26 ZA/B/4/(4v)

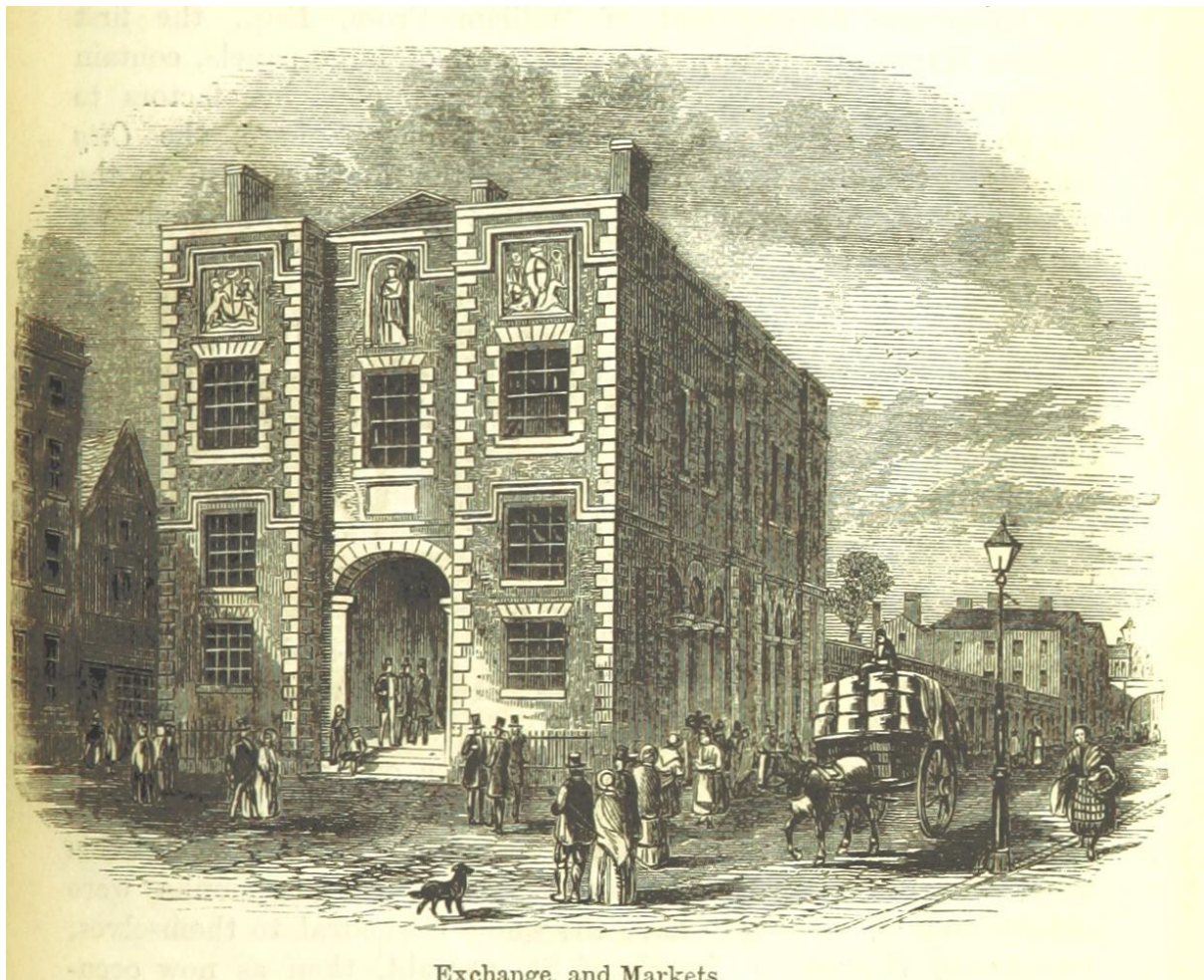
²⁷⁷ Barrow, JS, and others 'Major buildings: Cathedral and close', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions*, ed. A T Thacker and C P Lewis (London, 2005), pp. 185-204. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp185-204> [accessed 15 September 2019]

²⁷⁸ CALS, Third Assembly Book, 12-12-1700, ZA/B/3/83v-85

²⁷⁹ Whinton, 'Politics and Culture in the City' p50-51; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.103-4

gentleman's character at this time and both their own success and that of the city were bound together.²⁸⁰

The Exchange was a large impressive classical building which housed the courts, shops, a coffee house and assembly rooms in which to hold corporate events such as balls and banquets (fig 26). Costing over £2,400 this building was a sure proclamation of change and recovery for the city, somewhere that the wealthy would be catered to and somewhere the ordinary people could look to as an achievement of a city that had come far from the low state of siege and plague.



Exchange. and Markets.

Figure 26 - Chester's Exchange building in neoclassical style, from Hughes, *Stranger's Handbook to Chester*, 1856, p.81

²⁸⁰ Whinton, 'Politics and Culture in the City', p.45

The entertainments in the city were many and varied, however most of them had existed in some form before the civil war. What had changed was a new sensibility that informed architecture and the tastes of visiting gentry, and which motivated the resident gentry to change their city accordingly. However, it is clear that this period was still very much a transitional one, its retail and built environment were not fully formed even by the mid-18th century. Markets and fairs had yet to be completely taken off the streets.²⁸¹ The medieval gates damaged by the siege remained until the late 18th and early 19th centuries.²⁸² Refacing and rebuilding was piecemeal, although it showed a steady increase in activity, coupled with building regulations that modernised and increased the safety of the environment. The main influence on the city's building and leisure were the urban gentry, not just as consumers but as active agents for change, sitting on the corporation, lobbying as acquaintances and voting in elections. However, this too was something that could be seen before the war as wealthy visitors came to the traditional civic events, racing and on business to the courts, cathedral and garrison. During this period Chester was able to build on an existing consumer base and strengthen their position as the foremost gentry town in the region, using existing infrastructure to exploit the capital of its position and reputation, and use modern tastes and fashions to keep their gentry happy. Indeed, it could be argued that the leisure sector in Chester was similar to its buildings, a modern façade built over an existing, old but strong superstructure.

²⁸¹ Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Spaces,' p.16

²⁸² Barrow, JS and others, 'Major buildings: City walls and gates', in *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 Part 2, the City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions*, ed. A T Thacker and C P Lewis (London, 2005), pp. 213-225. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/ches/vol5/pt2/pp213-225> [accessed 15 September 2019].

Conclusion

This study has shown that Chester was able to recover from the damage and death of civil war by exploiting its existing position as a regional capital. Although it had reached a low point after surrender and plague, it was able to use its large hinterland to restock its city with workers and resume trading in a short space of time. Despite suffering from administrative issues in the Commonwealth, these were temporary and, especially after the Restoration, normal management resumed. In fact once the problem of a large poor migrant population was tempered by changes in its economy, and the poor were able to move onto cities more able to absorb their number, the city flourished. A refocusing on the gentry, who not only visited but also lived within the walls, allowed Chester to profit from an upturn in personal income, which in turn led to a higher class in services, goods and buildings. This would allow the city to become a gentry town on its way to a 'leisure town' but still missing some of the key components by 1745. Ultimately Chester was in transition, the movement of people, the re-ordering of its economy and the rebuilding of the urban environment all took time, and whilst the city began to take on the characteristics of the urban renaissance and the leisure boom, it had not reached its destination by the end of this study.

This dissertation showed a city with political and military importance during the civil war, which underwent widespread damage, some caused by its attackers and some through accepted tactical defensive measures. By mapping the damage it could be seen that not all of the accounts could be corroborated, although certain areas such as Boughton, Handbridge and Christleton were accepted as undergoing widespread

destruction. Although areas of the city such as Eastgate Street and Watergate Street were attacked, the exact magnitude of the damage remains unknown. It can only be speculated that a lack of widespread fire and a much improved housing stock during the early 17th century allowed the city to recover physically, despite still showing empty spaces and signs of loss twenty-five years later. The most likely explanation for the slow rebuilding process was outbreaks of plague, the most severe in 1647, causing widespread devastation and human loss.

This loss was ameliorated by a rapid replacement of people through migration from the city's hinterland. This 'dead men's shoes' approach allowed trading to revive, however the corporation and courts were needed to ensure that local trade was not overrun by 'foreign' traffic. This they did, and, by using poor relief, charity and an ethos of making the poor useful, they were able to moderate some of the issues surrounding a large poor population. By the end of the 17th century, hearth tax returns show a dramatic decrease in the number of the poor; it is conjectured that this represented two factors – the emigration of the poor as they moved to cities like Liverpool that needed a large unskilled workforce, coupled with a rise in personal income, making the poor slightly better off.

Traditional industries began to decline in the city and, whilst it is not clear whether servicing the wealthier residents was used to mitigate this decline, or whether it led to the decline, this study would suggest the latter. The urban gentry, those wealthy in terms of land, business and political power, began to influence changes in the city. There is no evidence that they were eager to keep up with their industrialising neighbours, even with attempts to improve the Dee navigation, this came to nothing

as the economic and political will was not there.²⁸³ Indeed, it may be surmised that the lack of entrepreneurship that Armour highlights, was actually one of pragmatism, where the authorities focused on those sectors that were successful such as coasting trade and marketing, both of which continued to grow until the late 18th century.²⁸⁴

Moreover, the shaping of Chester by the urban gentry, shows a city moulded for leisure and society. The gentry were real agents for change, both in the corporation and as consumers. New fashionable houses, influenced firstly by a mercantile background and then ultimately by metropolitan tastes, were built by the wealthy for the wealthy. The town did not so much change to accommodate the gentry – the gentry were already there, buying and building as they liked. Leisure activities had existed before the war and continued, growing in scale and quality, but generally enhancing what had already been on offer.

The changes to the urban environment were tempered by an authority that had a sense of duty. The Rows remained despite attempts to erase them, the reasons for this are again unclear, but appear to be a combination of civic identity, administrative complication and a desire for a coherent street view. The Rows represented the city and it is perhaps not surprising that the one place they were retained was at the heart of the city, beside the Pentice, where important people would be received in civic ceremony. The Rows provided a theatrical backdrop, a gallery from which to view the power of the city. Although unfashionable, it would also have been too costly and complicated to completely overhaul them, and so individual property

²⁸³ Woodward, 'The Port of Chester in Context 1500-1800' p.64

²⁸⁴ Armour, 'The Trade of Chester and the State of the Dee Navigation 1600 – 1800', p.4

owners were able to adjust them a little at a time, improving the quality of the spaces and in this way, also providing a better retail experience.

Change happened slowly, impeded by the harm inflicted by the civil war. Much of the century afterwards is spent in slow transition, working to regain its pre-war position. Whilst it did this, cities better placed geographically or with stronger infrastructure, overtook it in terms of population and economy. Urban historians have judged this as a failure, a decline from which it would not recover, but this study would argue that Chester and its gentry would not see it that way. The city's recovery was its own; distinctive and local. Comparisons to other cities are harmful, as each city made its own way, a large industrial port was likely to be the last thing the city gentry would have wanted. They were laying walks, planting trees and creating viewpoints from which to see a polite and prosperous city. Although Chester in this period did not grow in relation to other towns, the residents that made the changes were already wealthy. They catered for and corralled the poor with a sense of civic duty, and had no need to grow into a titanic city of factories. Instead they looked after their own needs, desires and responsibilities. These priorities may not square with those urban historians have set out for them, but Chester by the end of the 18th century was building squares, bridges and terraces all for the beautification of the city rather than for its economic benefit, although that was undoubtedly a by-product of attracting affluent and discerning visitors.

Chester antiquarian John Broster, in 1782, described it: 'with respect to its situation—the salubrity of the air—the singular convenience of the rows—the delightful pleasantness of the Walls—and the prospects of the adjacent country—

merits the notice of the man of taste— claims the attention of the antiquary—and courts the admiration of the stranger.²⁸⁵ This, at least, is a contemporaneous judgment that explains to some degree the city's own view of their achievements, from deserted and dying towards an elegant leisure town.

17,477 words

²⁸⁵ John Broster, *A Walk Round the Walls and City of Chester*, Sixth Edition, (Chester, Broster, 1821)

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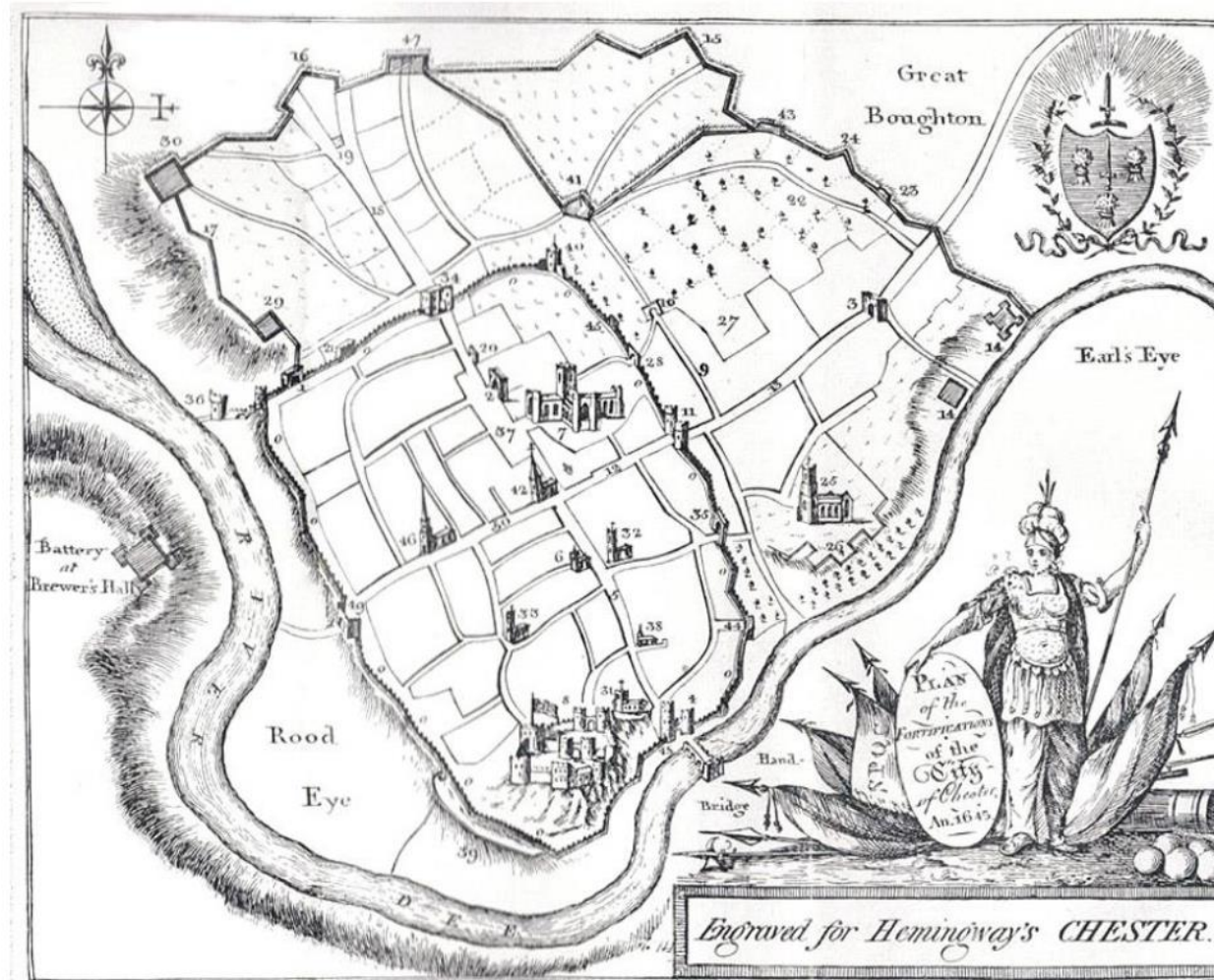
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Appendix 1 – Hemingway's Original Map with key



REFERENCES TO THE ACCOMPANYING PLAN.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Alcove, or Pember- | 18 Further Northgate-st. | 35 Newgate |
| 2 Abbey-gate | 19 Further Northgate-st. | 36 New Tower |
| 3 Bars-gate | Turnpike | 37 Northgate-street |
| 4 Bridge-gate | 20 Further Abbey-gate | 38 St. Olave's Church |
| 5 Bridge-street | 21 Gun-mount | 39 Outworks—Little |
| 6 Bridget's Church | 22 Horn-lane | Rood-eye |
| 7 Cathedral | 23 Horn-lane Mount | 40 Phoenix Tower |
| 8 Castle | 24 Horn-lane Flanker | 41 Ditto Mount |
| 9 Cow-lane | 25 St. John's Church | 42 St. Peter's Church |
| 10 Cow-lane Turnpike | 26 John's Church-yard | 43 Reed's Mount |
| 11 Eastgate | Battery | 44 Raised Platform on |
| 12 Eastgate-street | 27 The Justing Croft | the Walls |
| 13 Foregate-street | 28 Kaleyad-gate | 45 Sadler's Tower |
| 14 Flankers on the river | 29 Morgan's Mount | 46 Trinity Church |
| 15 Flankers at Flookers- | 30 Mount leading to | 47 Dr. Walley's Mount |
| brook | Stone-bridge | 48 Water Tower |
| 16 Flankers, Fur. North- | 31 St. Mary's Church | 49 Water-gate |
| gate-street | 32 St. Michael's Church | 50 Watergate-street |
| 17 Flankers, Stone-bridge | 33 St. Martin's Church | o The Walls. |
| | 34 Northgate | |

X

Appendix 1b - Damage mentioned in primary sources by Geographical Location

Place	Damage	Source
Handbridge	Burned and pulled down twice	Holme, ⁱ Cowper ⁱⁱ , Composition of Thomas Smith ⁱⁱⁱ
Spittle Boughton	Chapel pulled down and properties in area	Holme, Lancaster, ^{iv} Cowper
Christleton	Burned	Holme, Lancaster
Great Boughton	Burned and pulled down	Holme, composition of Charles Walley, ^v Lancaster, Cowper
Windmill in the Northgate area	Pulled down	Holme
St Thomas Street, Northgate area	Burned	Holme
St John's Hospital, Northgate area	Razed to ground	Holme
Chapel of Little St John, Northgate area	'not to be found'	Holme
Mr Jolley's house, Northgate area	Burned	Holme
Wall at Goblin's Tower (Morgan's Mount)	Breached; Battlements beaten down	Holme, Lancaster, Malbon, ^{vi} Byron, ^{vii} Cowper
Wall between Sadler's Tower and Eastgate	Artillery fire	Holme
Wall by Newgate	Breached	Holme, Lancaster, Malbon, Byron, Cowper
Gamull's House and Werden's House	Pulled down	Holme

Watergate Street	Grenadoe damage	Holme, Byron
Eastgate Street	Grenadoe damage	Holme, Byron
Wet glovers' houses under the wall	Pulled down	Holme
Foregate Street	Houses burned down	Holme, Byron
Red Lyon, Foregate Street	Burned down	Brereton, ^{viii} Charles Walley's composition
The Globe, Foregate Street	Burned down	Corporation Lease Book ^{ix}
Watergate area – houses and buildings on the Roodee	Pulled down	Holme
Water Tower	Shot at and breached	Holme, Byron, Lancaster, Malbon
Fuller/Walker mills	Destroyed	Holme, Lancaster, Malbon
Cholmondley House, in St John's churchyard	Burned down	Holme
Flookersbrook Hall (owner Sir Thomas Smith, leased by Mr Shingleton)	Burned down	Holme, Cowper
Hoole Hall (owner – Mr Bunburie)	Burned down	Holme
Bache Hall (owner – Mr Edward Whitbie)	Burned down	Holme
Bretton Hall (owner – Mr Ravenscroft)	'Plundered and burnt little'	Holme
Blacon Hall, (owner – Sir Randall Crewe)	Destroyed	Holme

The Nunnes (owner – Sir William Brereton)	‘Plundered and plucked down’	Holme
The Bishop’s Palace (modern-day Cathedral), with stables and great church	Destroyed and ruined	Holme
St Peter’s Church	‘much defaced and pews torne and all windows broken by two grenadoes’	Holme

ⁱ Randle Holme III, ‘Narration of the Siege of Chester’ in Rupert Morris, *The Siege of Chester 1643-1646*, (Chester, 1924, GR Griffith Ltd)

ⁱⁱ Dr William Cowper in George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palantine and City of Chester*, Vol. 1, (London, Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, And Jones, 1819)

ⁱⁱⁱ *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, Vol. 1 Aug. 1896, p.70-72

^{iv} Nathaniel Lancaster in ‘Sir William’s Brereton’s Letter sent to the Honorable William Lenthal Esq: Speaker of the Honorable House of Commons’, (original work published in 1645), *Early English Books Online*, <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:113465> [accessed 19-11-2018]

^v *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. 1, June 1896, no. 54, p.51-2

^{vi} Thomas Malbon, in James Hall (ed) *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the Adjacent Counties*, (Cheshire, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1889)

^{vii} Lord John Byron, ‘John Byron’s Account of the Siege of Chester 1645-1646’, in Rev. Canon M. H. Ridgway, and B. K. Berry, *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th Series, Vol. 6, no.245-258, Jan 1974, pp.1-25; Randle Holme III, in Morris, *The Siege of Chester*, p.203-205, and 215-286

^{viii} *The Letter Books of William Brereton Vol. II, June 18th 1645 - February 1st 1645/6*, (Stroud, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1990);

^{ix} CCALS, Corporation Lease Book, Sept 1657, ZCHB/3 f.161-162. 24

Appendix 2 – Hearth Tax Returns by Ward

1664/5 Hearth Tax

Ward	Paying	Poor	Total	..	1-3 Hearths	4-6 Hearths	7-9 Hearths	10+ Hearths
St Giles	69	81	150		41	21	4	3
Northgate	62	67	129		41	14	0	7
St Thomas	23	47	70		23	8	1	0
St John	89	68	157		58	19	7	5
St Oswald	87	24	111		53	23	8	3
St Martin	68	51	119		36	19	9	4
Trinity	62	64	126		32	22	7	1
Eastgate	135	31	166		73	45	13	4
St Bridget	63	21	90		29	23	10	1
St Olave	182	126	308		116	47	14	5
St Mary	58	59	117		47	6	4	1
St Michael	51	11	62		27	21	1	2
	949	650	1605		576	268	78	36

1673 hearth tax

Ward	Paying	Poor	Total		1-3 hearths	4-6 hearths	7-9 hearths	10+ hearths	unknown (dash)
st gyles	63	71	134		39	17	3	4	0
st john's	203	27	230		115	57	22	8	1
trinity	59	30	89		40	13	1	3	2
st bridget's	66	2	68		35	17	9	3	2
st michael's	53	13	66		29	19	1	3	1
st mary's	59	48	107		48	5	3	1	2
st martin's	75	25	100		37	22	7	5	4
st olave	173	57	230		110	34	14	4	11
st oswald's	84	11	95		47	26	8	3	0
northgate	54	43	97		33	16	0	4	1
st thomas	45	not recorded			33	8	0	0	4
	934	327	1216		566	234	68	38	28

Source:

1664 – FC Beazley, 'Hearth Tax Returns for the City of Chester 1664-5', in *Miscellanies Relating from Cheshire and Lancashire, Volume the Fifth*, pp.156-239 (Birkenhead, The Record Society for Lancashire and Cheshire, 1906), <http://rslc.org.uk/api/file/Vol_052.pdf> [accessed 02-08-19]

1672 – CALS Quarter Session Files, 1672 QSF/82 part VI

Appendix 3 – Freeman Rolls

Table of Occupations in Sectors and Sub-sectors

Sectors

Building	Buying/Selling	Making/Selling	Food/Drink
Carpenter	Draper	Tailor	Brewer
Glasier	Ironmonger	Shoemaker	Baker
Bricklayer	Merchant	Glover	Butcher
Slater	Linen-draper	Smith	Innholder
Pavier	Mercer	Saddler	Fishmonger
Plasterer	Haberdasher	Cooper	Maltster
Mason	Clothier	Blacksmith	Beer-brewer
Joiner	Cutler	Spurrier	Vintner
Labourer	Goldsmith	Miliner/milner	Cook
Turner	Chandler	Pewterer	Confectioner
Carver	Stationer	Wet-glover	Distiller
Hornbreaker	Woollen-draper	Fletcher	Sugar-baker
Beam maker	Bookseller	Body-maker	
Ship carpenter	Chapman	Corviser	
Sawyer	Tobacconist	Instrument maker	
Shipwright	Furrier	Clockmaker	
	Cheese factor	Button-maker	
	Timber merchant	Watchmaker	
	Victualler	Pipemaker	
		Wine-cooper	
		Brazier	
		Hosier	
		Soap-maker	
		Cordiner	
		Cabinet-maker	
		Ropier	
		Gunsmith	
		Inkhorn-turner	
		Periwig-maker	
		Silk Stocking weaver	
		Bridle-cutter	
		Papermaker	
		Jeweller	
		Wheelwright	
		Stocking weaver	
		Whitesmith	
		Whipmaker	
		Nailer	
		Coachmaker	

Sub-Sectors

Sub-Divisions

Luxury	Clothing/textiles	Medical	Leather
Goldsmith	Dyer	Apothecary	Shoemaker
Musician	Clothworker	Surgeon	Cordwainer
Painter	Felt-maker	Barber-surgeon	Tanner
Stationer	Webster	Barber	Skinner
Bookseller	Currier	Barber-chirurgion	Saddler
Instrument maker	Embroiderer	Chirurgion	Wet-glover
Clockmaker	Miliner/milner	Druggist	Glover
Confectioner	Draper		Corviser
Watchmaker	Linen-draper		Cordiner
Soap-boiler	Mercer		Bridle-cutter
Picture drawer	Woolen-draper		Whipmaker
Pipemaker	Card-maker		Currier
Tobacconist	Upholsterer		
Soap-maker	Body-maker		
Sugar-baker	Button-maker		
Cabinet-maker	Wool-comber		
Furrier	Comb-maker		
Tobacco-cutter	Hosier		
Herald painter	Needleman		
Gunsmith	Printer of cloth		
Inkhorn-turner	Flaxdresser		
Dancing master	Tapemaker		
Periwig-maker	Patternmaker		
Silk stocking weaver	Jerseycomber		
Jeweller	Silkdyer		
Papermaker	fustianmaker		
Printer	staymaker		
Coachmaker	stuffweaver		
Writing master	linencloth weaver		

Metal	Wood	Candles	Rural
Ironmonger	Cooper	Chandler	Husbandman
Smith	Fletcher	Tallow chandler	Yeoman
Spurrier	Wine-cooper		Collier
Pewterer	Lastmaker		
Blacksmith	Cork-cutter		
Smith	Wheelwright		
Cutler	Timber merchant		
Plumber			
Brazier			
Tinplate-worker			
Sivemaker			
Whitesmith			
Nailer			

Appendix 3a - Freeman by Occupation Sector 1646-1745

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1646-1660 (Commonwealth/Protectorate Period)

Sector	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653	1654	1655	1656	1657	1658	1659	1660
building	4	1	0	3	3	5	3	0	0	1	3	5	4	5	4
buying/selling	18	9	5	4	2	7	5	8	15	2	11	14	3	15	4
making/selling	6	19	8	8	16	9	6	12	6	13	10	11	5	19	13
food/drink	8	9	5	3	7	8	5	5	10	6	7	1	3	11	11
gentry	2	4	0	0	5	2	1	3	4	1	1	1	1	2	2
processing	11	9	7	4	13	11	13	8	16	4	9	7	6	8	8
professional	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	3	0
service	0	0	2	1	0	6	2	2	2	0	2	3	0	1	0
rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	50	52	27	24	47	49	36	41	55	27	43	42	22	64	43

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1660-1675

sector	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667	1668	1669	1670	1671	1672	1673	1674	1675
building	4	5	1	2	4	3	1	2	3	1	4	9	15	3	3	1
buying/selling	4	11	6	5	11	10	9	11	10	2	5	4	6	10	7	8
making/selling	13	12	5	4	9	18	7	18	11	7	17	9	21	5	18	6
food/drink	11	8	9	2	4	2	5	10	8	12	5	5	6	8	6	6
gentry	2	1	4	1	5	1	3	3	2	1	7	2	5	1	9	1
processing	8	6	23	2	5	1	4	8	4	4	6	6	12	6	10	4
professional	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
service	0	2	2	0	3	0	3	3	1	0	1	4	3	1	1	1
rural	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	43	46	50	16	42	36	32	56	40	27	46	40	68	34	55	28

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1675-1690

Sector	1675	1676	1677	1678	1679	1680	1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688	1689	1690
Building	1	4	4	17	2	10	3	4	1	3	4	5	4	1	9	1
Buying/selling	8	10	10	9	7	13	4	9	3	6	9	3	6	5	3	6
Making/selling	6	13	9	34	7	14	5	7	3	11	15	9	12	1	12	6
Food/drink	6	5	9	15	4	4	8	9	0	6	6	9	9	1	2	3
Gentry	1	3	2	10	4	2	0	0	0	3	1	2	5	3	2	1
Processing	4	4	10	28	2	9	3	3	0	4	7	6	7	1	4	1
Professional	1	1	3	1	0	5	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
Service	1	0	1	3	3	1	1	2	1	4	1	3	7	0	1	2
Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	28	40	48	117	29	58	24	35	8	38	45	38	51	13	34	20

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1690-1705

sector	1690	1691	1692	1693	1694	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705
building	1	0	7	4	4	4	16	3	3	1	0	12	7	2	14	5
buying/selling	6	0	10	9	9	6	15	9	8	5	2	6	13	4	10	3
making/selling	6	2	5	7	6	7	16	16	5	1	6	14	18	7	14	8
food/drink	3	0	3	3	5	9	7	4	4	6	3	9	1	2	4	1
gentry	1	3	3	1	5	7	4	6	0	5	2	12	5	4	4	4
processing	1	4	4	2	4	11	14	4	0	4	2	8	7	2	7	1
professional	0	1	0	1	1	1	6	3	3	2	0	0	0	1	2	8
service	2	1	4	6	3	0	6	2	0	2	2	6	3	1	4	2
rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	20	11	36	33	37	45	84	47	23	26	17	67	54	23	59	32

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1705-1720

Sector	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720
Building	5	1	20	6	0	3	7	1	2	11	10	0	4	8	4	99
Buying/selling	3	2	5	4	1	3	1	6	8	3	3	5	5	1	5	18
Making/selling	8	5	19	7	7	16	7	7	11	21	11	6	8	9	15	160
Food/drink	1	1	5	3	4	1	5	5	3	6	2	2	0	6	4	35
Gentry	4	1	4	1	5	8	1	1	7	5	1	4	4	2	8	45
Processing	1	3	13	2	3	3	6	3	8	8	1	2	0	4	6	65
Professional	8	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	6	0	0	1	18
Service	2	3	4	2	1	2	0	5	4	3	3	1	4	2	6	17
Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	32	16	70	25	22	36	28	30	44	57	32	26	25	32	49	458

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1720-1735

Sector	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735
Building	99	14	1	1	3	5	9	1	0	7	4	87	1	5	1	3
Buying/Selling	18	4	3	2	4	4	3	3	3	4	2	40	4	5	1	1
Making/Selling	160	27	4	7	3	7	8	8	3	11	11	206	3	11	1	2
Food/Drink	35	2	1	3	3	2	7	0	2	5	5	36	1	0	1	3
Gentry	45	27	4	8	7	5	6	6	2	2	3	49	74	14	2	7
Processing	65	10	2	1	1	3	3	3	2	1	3	76	6	3	1	1
Professional	18	3	2	3	2	4	2	2	0	2	3	24	8	0	0	1
Service	17	6	0	2	4	3	3	3	2	0	3	36	10	3	1	2
Rural	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	458	93	17	27	27	33	41	26	14	32	34	556	107	41	8	20

Freemen by Occupation Sector 1735-45

Sector	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745
Building	3	0	6	5	2	2	1	5	7	3	1
Buying/selling	1	0	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5
Making/selling	2	0	7	3	6	3	11	6	25	4	4
Food/drink	3	1	2	1	2	4	13	0	10	3	4
Gentry	7	21	10	3	1	1	2	3	7	7	4
Processing	1	0	2	0	2	4	2	3	8	5	2
Professional	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
Service	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	3	1
Rural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	20	25	32	15	19	19	32	24	62	28	22

Appendix 3b – Freeman Occupations 1646-1745

1646

Occupation	Sector	Sub-sector	Amount
carpenter	building	building	2
Glasier	building	building	1
Bricklayer	building	building	1
Draper	Buying/selling	clothing/textiles	5
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	Metal	9
Merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
Tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Shoemaker	Making/Selling	Leather	1
Glover	Making/Selling	Leather	4
Brewer	Food/Drink	Food/Drink	6
Baker	Food/Drink	Food/Drink	1
Innholder	Food/Drink	food/drink	1
Esquire	gentry	gentry	1
Gentleman	gentry	gentry	1
Dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	8
Tanner	Processing	Leather	1
Skinner	Processing	Leather	1
Apothecary	professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			50
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			51

1647

Slater	building	building	1
Draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
Merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Mercer	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Smith	Making/Selling	metal	3
Shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
Tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
Glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
Saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
Cooper	Making/Selling	wood	2
Brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
Baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
Fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
Clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	4
Felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Currier	Processing	leather	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
Dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Webster	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Embroiderer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			52
Freemen with no occupations named			0
			52

1648

Haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
Butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	3
Tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
Spurrier	Making/Selling	metal	1
Feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	4
Tanner	Processing	leather	3
Barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			27
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			27

1649

Glasier	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
Bricklayer	building	building	1
clothier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
Miliner	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
Felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
Barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			24
Freemen with no occupations named			5
Total			29

1650

Bricklayer	Building	Building	1
carpenter	building	Building	1
slater	building	building	2
Clothier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Yeoman	Gentry	Rural	2
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
Shoemaker	Making/Selling	Leather	8
Cooper	Making/Selling	Wood	3
glover	Making/Selling	Leather	2
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	Metal	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	Metal	1
Tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	7
skinner	Processing	leather	1
Cloth-worker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Tanner	Processing	Leather	1
Webster	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
Apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			47
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			48

1651

plasterer	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
Haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
cutler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
Goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
Shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
glover	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
Tanner	Processing	leather	3
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
Tanner	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Apothecary	Professional	medical	1
musician	Profession	Luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	2
clerk	Service	Service	2
porter	Service	Service	1
Total of named occupations			49
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			52

1652

carpenter	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
tanner	Processing	leather	3
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	8
embroiderer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
Apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			36
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			37

1653

Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	5
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	6
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
miliner	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
Tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
tanner	Processing	leather	4
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
chirurgion	Professional	medical	1
Apothecary	Professional	medical	2
barber	Service	medical	1
servant	Service	Service	1
Total of named occupations			41
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			42

1654

chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	4
Clothier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
stationer	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
Baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
skinner	Processing	leather	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	6
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	3
Dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
musician	Professional	Luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			55
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			56

1655

joiner	building	building	1
turner	building	building	1
stationer	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	5
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	3
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
Total of named occupations			27
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			27

1656

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	2
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	8
cutler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
Cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
glover	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
fletcher	Making/Selling	wood	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	3
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
painter	professional	luxury	1
Total of named occupations			43
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			45

1657

glazier	building	building	1
labourer	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
woollen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
Cooper	Making/Selling	wood	2
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
Saddler	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
plumber	Processing	metal	2
Silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2
Cloth-worker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
barber	Service	medical	3
Total of named occupations			42
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			42

1658

joiner	building	building	2
Bricklayer	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
Saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
spurrier	Making/Selling	metal	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
skinner	Processing	leather	1
cardmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
Total of named occupations			22
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			24

1659

carpenter	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
glazier	building	building	1
turner	building	building	1
carver	building	building	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	8
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
Saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
Cooper	Making/Selling	wood	3
glover	Making/Selling	leather	5
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	7
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
cook	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	3
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
Apothecary	Professional	medical	3
barber-chirurgeon	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			64
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			64

1660

Bricklayer	building	building	2
mason	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	7
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
miliner	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
tanner	Processing	leather	3
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
husbandman	rural	rural	1
Total of named occupations			43
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			43

1661

carpenter	building	building	2
slater	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	3
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	3
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	4
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			46
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			46

1662

carpenter	building	building	1
turner	building	building	2
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	5
stationer	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	2
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	10
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	6
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
Total of named occupations			50
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			50

1663

joiner	building	building	1
Bricklayer	building	building	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
Total of named occupations			16
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			17

1664

joiner	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	3
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	3

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	3
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
body-maker	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	2
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	3
Total of named occupations			42
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			42

1665

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
slater	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
chapman	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	5
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
corviser	Making/Selling	leather	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	4
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			36
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			36

1666

joiner	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	6
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
glover	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			32

1667

slater	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
turner	building	building	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
clothier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
bookseller	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
glover	Making/Selling	leather	4

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	3
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
scrivener	Service	Service	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
Total of named occupations			56
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			56

1668

joiner	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
Ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	7
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			40
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			42

1669

joiner	building	building	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
clockmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
instrument maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
confectioner	Food/drink	luxury	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
distiller	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
tanner	Processing	leather	4
Total of named occupations			27
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			27

1670

hornbreaker	building	building	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	5
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	5
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
button-maker	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	4
Innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
knight	Gentry	Gentry	1
Gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	4
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
soap-boiler	Processing	luxury	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
picture drawer	Professional	luxury	1
Total of named occupations			46
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			46

1671

slater	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	5
turner	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
labourer	building	building	1
glazier	building	building	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	6
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber-chirurgeon	Service	medical	4
Total of named occupations			40
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			40

1672

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
turner	building	building	1
Joiner	building	building	2
bricklayer	building	building	3
slater	building	building	3
mason	building	building	2
carpenter	building	building	1
plasterer	building	building	3
glazier	building	building	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	6
Tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	3
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
Baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
tanner	Processing	leather	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	4
tanner	Processing	leather	2
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
cardmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
painter	professional	luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	1
barber-chirurgeon	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			68
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			69

1673

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	7
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
tanner	Processing	leather	2
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			34
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			34

1674

plasterer	building	building	2
slater	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	7
glover	Making/Selling	leather	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
Butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	7
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	6
tanner	Processing	leather	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			55
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			56

1675

joiner	building	building	1
turner	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
stationer	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
clothworker	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
clockmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
wool-comber	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
skinner	Processing	leather	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			28
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			28

1676

slater	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	3
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	3
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	3
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	3
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	4
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			40
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			40

1677

mason	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	6
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
bookseller	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
currier	Processing	leather	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
apothecary	Professional	medical	3
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			48
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			49

1678

bricklayer	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	3
turner	building	building	2
carpenter	building	building	4
bricklayer	building	building	5
labourer	building	building	2
hornbreaker	building	building	1
pavier	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	5
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	13
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	2
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	4
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	5
clockmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
yeoman	Gentry	rural	4
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
tanner	Processing	leather	7
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	4
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	12
skinner	Processing	leather	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
button-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
cardmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1

upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
husbandman	rural	rural	1
barber	Service	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			117
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			120

1679

mason	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	4
tanner	Processing	leather	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	3
Total of named occupations			29
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			29

1680

joiner	building	building	2
mason	building	building	1
slater	building	building	2
plasterer	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
turner	building	building	2
carver	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
clothier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	4
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
grocer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	4
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	4
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			58
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			58

1681

carpenter	building	Building	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	Metal	3
saddler	Making/Selling	Leather	1
glover	Making/Selling	Leather	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	Luxury	1
cooper	Making/Selling	Wood	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	Leather	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
combmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
plumber	processing	metal	1
tanner	Processing	leather	2
skinner	Processing	leather	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			24
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			27

1682

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
glasier	building	building	1
turner	building	building	2
carver	building	building	1
tobacconist	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
woollen draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
fletcher	Making/Selling	wood	1
hosier	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			35
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			35

1683

carpenter	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
soapmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			8
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			8

1684

joiner	building	building	1
glasier	building	building	2
turner	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	3
bookseller	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
spurrier	Making/Selling	metal	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
doctor of physicke	Professional	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	2
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			38
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			42

1685

glasier	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	3
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	6
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
cordiner	Making/Selling	leather	6
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
sugar-baker	Food/drink	luxury	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	2
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	3

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
skinner	Processing	leather	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			45
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			45

1686

carpenter	building	building	1
mason	building	building	2
bricklayer	building	building	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	1
tallow-chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
beer-brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
grocer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
medecin doctor	Professional	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			38
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			39

1687

glasier	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
hornbreaker	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
woollen draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
stationer	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	6
cordiner	Making/Selling	leather	3
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
Esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	1
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	1
skinner	Processing	leather	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
chirurgion	Service	medical	2
leavelooker	Service	Service	2
sheriff	Service	Service	2
Total of named occupations			51
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			52

1688

carpenter	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
woollen draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
sugar-baker	Food/drink	luxury	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-sector	Amount
tanner	Processing	leather	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			13
Freemen with no occupations named			73
Total			86

1689

carpenter	building	building	2
bricklayer	building	building	2
joiner	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
mason	building	building	2
plasterer	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	6
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
smith	Making/Selling	metal	2
cabinetmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2
tailor	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			34
Freemen with no occupations named			116
Total			150

1690

mason	building	building	1
stationer	Buying/Selling	luxury	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
tallow chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-sector	Amount
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
chirurgion	Service	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			20
Freemen with no occupations named			8
Total			28

1691

blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
drawer	Processing	metal	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			11
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			12

1692

joiner	building	building	3
carpenter	building	building	1
glasier	building	building	2
slater	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
linen draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
needleman	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
barber	Service	medical	3
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			36
Freemen with no occupations named			5
Total			41

1693

Occupation	Sector	Sub-sector	Amount
carpenter	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	1
beam maker	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	8
furrier	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
cheese factor	Buying/selling	Food/drink	1
wigmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
plumber	Processing	metal	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
gardiner	professional	luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			33
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			35

1694

joiner	building	building	2
carpenter	building	building	1
plasterer	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	6
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
maltster	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-sector	Amount
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	3
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tobacco-cutter	Processing	luxury	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
barber-chirurgeon	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			37
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			39

1695

joiner	building	building	2
hornbreaker	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
winecooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
distiller	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	5
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
sivemaker	Processing	metal	1
plumber	processing	Metal	1
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
printer of cloth	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
Total of named occupations			45
Freemen with no occupations named			5
Total			50

1696

bricklayer	building	building	3
mason	building	building	4
joiner	building	building	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-sector	Amount
pavier	building	building	1
slater	building	building	6
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	5
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tobacconist	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
smith	Making/Selling	metal	2
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	2
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	3
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
lastmaker	Processing	wood	1
tanner	Processing	leather	2
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
skinner	Processing	leather	1
tobacco-cutter	Processing	luxury	1
carver	Processing	wood	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	5
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	4
herald painter	Professional	luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			84
Freemen with no occupations named			58
Total			142

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	3
Total of named occupations			23
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			26

1699

mason	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			28
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			29

1700

merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
confectioner	Food/drink	luxury	1
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
weaver	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	building	2
carver	building	building	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	3
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	4
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
gunsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
inkhorn-turner	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
innholder	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	5
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
skinner	Processing	leather	1
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	2
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
musician	Professional	luxury	1
barber-chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			47
Freemen with no occupations named			6
Total			53

carpenter	Building	building	1
glasier	Building	building	1
joiner	Building	building	1
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cabinetmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	3
Total of named occupations			23
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			26

1699

mason	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
chandler	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2
felt-maker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			28
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			29

1700

merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linen-draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
confectioner	Food/drink	luxury	1
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
weaver	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			17
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			17

1701

sawyer	building	building	1
turner	building	building	1
plasterer	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	3
joiner	building	building	3
mason	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
cheesefactor	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	4
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
glover	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	6
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
confectioner	Food/drink	luxury	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	8
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
skinner	Processing	leather	2
plumber	processing	metal	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
brewer	Processing	Food/drink	1
smith	Processing	metal	2
gardener	Professional	luxury	1
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	2
barber	Service	medical	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
Total of named occupations			67
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			71

1702

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
carpenter	building	building	3
joiner	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	1
ship carpenter	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
stationer	Buying/Selling	luxury	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	4
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	5
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
tobacconist	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	9
tallowchandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	3
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
tanner	Processing	leather	1
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
chirurgion	Service	medical	1
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			54
Freemen with no occupations named			9
Total			63

1703

carver	Building	building	1
slater	Building	building	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
Brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			23
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			27

1704

bricklayer	Building	building	3
slater	Building	building	4
glazier	Building	building	2
labourer	Building	building	1
joiner	Building	building	2
carpenter	Building	building	1
plasterer	Building	building	1
smith	Buying/Selling	metal	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
fishmonger	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	6
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	2
spurrier	Making/Selling	metal	1
tallowchandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
Brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	Gentry	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	2
chirurgion	Service	medical	1
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			59
Freemen with no occupations named			26
Total			85

1705

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	Building	building	1
bricklayer	Building	building	1
mason	Building	building	1
carpenter	Building	building	1
slater	Building	building	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
tallowchandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
confectioner	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	7
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
gardener	Professional	luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			23
Total			55

1706

slater	Building	building	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
barber	Service	medical	2
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			16
Freemen with no occupations named			18
Total			34

1707

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
slater	Building	building	2
mason	Building	building	4
joiner	Building	building	2
glazier	Building	building	2
bricklayer	Building	building	4
hornbreaker	Building	building	2
carpenter	Building	building	2
carver	Building	building	1
labourer	building	building	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	8
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
silk stocking weaver	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	3
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
tobacco-cutter	Processing	luxury	2
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
barber	Service	medical	3
gardener	professional	luxury	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			70
Freemen with no occupations named			46
Total			116

1708

bricklayer	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
plasterer	building	building	1
turner	building	building	1
labourer	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
saddler	Making/Selling	Leather	1
cabinetmaker	Making/Selling	Luxury	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	Leather	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
cooper	Making/Selling	Wood	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
plumber	processing	Metal	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
gardener	professional	Luxury	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			25
Freemen with no occupations named			16
Total			41

1709

linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
skinner	Processing	leather	1
dancing master	Professional	Professional	1
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	1
apothecary	Professional	medical	1
Total of named occupations			22
Freemen with no occupations named			14
Total			36

1710

bricklayer	building	building	2
carpenter	building	building	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	3
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	6
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
barber surgeon	Service	medical	2
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
Total of named occupations			36
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			40

1711

turner	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	3
glazier	building	building	2
sawyer	building	building	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
shoemaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	6
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
Total of named occupations			28
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			29

1712

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
carpenter	building	building	1
haberdasher	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
fishmonger	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
ropier	Making/Selling	Rope	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
tallowchandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	2
apothecary	Professional	medical	2
barber	Service	medical	3
clerk	Service	Service	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			30
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			31

1713

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	Building	1
mason	building	Building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	Metal	6
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	Metal	1
chandler	Making/Selling	Candles	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	Leather	5
cooper	Making/Selling	Wood	1
saddler	Making/Selling	Leather	1
smith	Making/Selling	Metal	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	Luxury	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
vintner	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	Gentry	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
"in medicin doctor"	Professional	Medical	1
printer	Service	Service	1
barber	Service	Medical	3
Total of named occupations			44
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			45

1714

joiner	Building	building	3
slater	Building	building	3
carpenter	Building	building	2
bricklayer	Building	building	3
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	3
tailor	Making/selling	clothing/textiles	3
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	3
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
cabinet maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	6
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	2
fishmonger	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	5
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
tanner	Processing	leather	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			57
Freemen with no occupations named			12
Total			69

1715

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	building	2
bricklayer	building	building	2
glazier	building	building	2
labourer	building	building	3
mason	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
cheesefactor	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	1
barber surgeon	Service	medical	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			36

1716

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	3
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	5
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			26
Freemen with no occupations named			5
Total			31

1717

mason	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	2
carpenter	building	building	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
bookseller	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	4
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	2
clerk	Service	Service	2
Total of named occupations			25
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			28

1718

bricklayer	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	2
sawyer	building	building	2
labourer	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			34

1719

carpenter	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cheesefactor	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	2
tobacconist	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	5
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	2
bridlecutter	Making/Selling	leather	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
yeoman	Gentry	Gentry	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	3
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	5
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	2
gardener	professional	luxury	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
barber	Service	medical	1
painter	Professional	luxury	1
Total of named occupations			49
Freemen with no occupations named			16
Total			65

1720

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
glazier	building	building	6
joiner	building	building	13
slater	building	building	16
plasterer	building	building	7
mason	building	building	13
turner	building	building	4
bricklayer	building	building	19
carpenter	building	building	13
shipwright	building	building	1
hornbreaker	building	building	3
pavier	building	building	1
labourer	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	10
mercier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	3
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	9
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	3
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	3
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	68
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	23
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	9
smith	Making/Selling	metal	8
papermaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
gunsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
jeweller	Making/Selling	luxury	1
combmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
cabinet maker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	14
goldsmith	Making/Selling	Luxury	4
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	1
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	2
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
nailer	Making/Selling	metal	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	14
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	13
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	7
fisherman	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	20
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	5
yeoman	Gentry	rural	20
collier	rural	mining	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
tanner	Processing	leather	7
plumber	processing	metal	2
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	12
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	27
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	4
corkcutter	Processing	wood	5
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
silkweaver	Processing	luxury	2
jerseycomber	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
pattenmaker	Processing	building	2
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tapemaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
maltster	Processing	Food/drink	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	3
mariner	Professional	Professional	15
barber chirurgion	Service	medical	2
barber	Service	medical	9
innholder	Service	Food/drink	2
clerk	Service	Service	2
surgeon	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			458
Freemen with no occupations named			52
Total			510

1721

joiner	building	building	3
glazier	building	building	2
carpenter	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	2
hornbreaker	building	building	1
pavier	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
slater	building	building	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	10
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	5
clockmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	2
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	13
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	5
yeoman	Gentry	rural	7
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
earl	Gentry	Gentry	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	2
plumber	Processing	Metal	2
tobacco-cutter	Processing	luxury	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
maltmaker	Processing	Food/drink	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
pattenmaker	Processing	building	1
upholsterer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
fustianmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
gardener	Professional	luxury	2
clerk	Service	Service	2
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			93
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			96

1722

bricklayer	building	building	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
silkdyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
glass grinder	Processing	building	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
Total of named occupations			17
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			17

1723

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
bricklayer	building	building	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	3
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
wheelwright	Making/Selling	wood	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
confectioner	Food/drink	luxury	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	4
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	1
gardener	professional	luxury	1
Total of named occupations			27
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			27

1724

joiner	building	building	2
carver	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
gunsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
earl	Gentry	Gentry	1
lord	Gentry	Gentry	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
doctor "in medicin"	Professional	medical	1
surgeon	Service	medical	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
painter	professional	luxury	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			27
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			31

1725

slater	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	3
turner	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
silk stocking-weaver	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	3
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
surgeon	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			33
Freemen with no occupations named			5
Total			38

1726

joiner	building	building	2
glazier	building	building	2
labourer	building	building	1
slater	building	building	2
bricklayer	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
timber merchant	Buying/Selling	wood	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	5
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	5
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
maltster	Processing	Food/drink	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
brewer	Processing	Food/drink	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	2
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			41
Freemen with no occupations named			5
Total			46

1727

glazier	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
silk stocking-weaver	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
cabinet maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
dye	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	2
gardener	Professional	luxury	1
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			26
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			30

1728

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	1
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			14
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			16

1729

joiner	building	building	3
carpenter	building	building	1
mason	building	building	2
carver	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	5
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
vintner	Food/drink	luxury	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	2
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			34

1730

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	3
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
glover	Making/Selling	leather	1
hosier	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
plumber	processing	Metal	1
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	3
barber	Service	medical	3
Total of named occupations			34
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			35

1731

mason	building	building	13
glazier	building	building	4
turner	building	building	4
joiner	building	building	14
slater	building	building	14
carpenter	building	building	12
bricklayer	building	building	22
pavier	building	building	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	12
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	8
mercier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	9
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	2
tobacconist	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
bookseller	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
grocer	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	2
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
leatherseller	Buying/Selling	leather	3
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	14
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	34
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	71

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
periwig-maker	Making/Selling	luxury	9
smith	Making/Selling	metal	11
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	1
wheelwright	Making/Selling	wood	4
goldsmith	Making/Selling	luxury	4
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	9
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	12
nailer	Making/Selling	metal	2
glover	Making/Selling	leather	2
locksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
ropier	Making/Selling	rope	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	6
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	5
cabinet maker	Making/Selling	luxury	6
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	5
whipmaker	Making/Selling	leather	1
buttonmaker	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
stocking weaver	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
jeweller	Making/Selling	luxury	1
painter	Professional	luxury	1
whitesmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
milner	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	13
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	6
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	16
vintner	Food/drink	luxury	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	29
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	3
yeoman	Gentry	rural	17
tanner	Processing	leather	4
plumber	Processing	Metal	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	26
glass grinder	Processing	building	3
corkcutter	Processing	wood	8
weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	9
hornbreaker	Processing	building	4
staymaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	6
combmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
currier	Processing	leather	2
dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
brassfounder	Processing	metal	1
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	1
woolcomber	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tobacco cutter	Processing	luxury	1
silk dyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
fustianmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clothworker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	8
mariner	Professional	Professional	16
husbandman	rural	rural	2
clerk	Service	Service	4
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
barber	Service	medical	22
gardener	professional	luxury	2
printer	Service	luxury	2
surgeon	Service	medical	5
Total of named occupations			556
Freemen with no occupations named			75
Total			631

1732

mason	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	4
cabinet maker	Making/Selling	luxury	3
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	48
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	20
yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	3
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
ironmonger	Processing	Metal	1
maltster	Processing	Food/drink	1
doctor of physick	Professional	Professional	3
mariner	Professional	Professional	4
clergy	Professional	Professional	1
clerk	Service	Service	8
gardener	professional	Luxury	2
Total of named occupations			107
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			111

1733

bricklayer	building	building	2
joiner	building	building	3
woollendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
mercier	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	2
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	6
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	10
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	3
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
silkdyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
barber	Service	medical	1
clerk	Service	Service	2
Total of named occupations			41
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			44

1734

bricklayer	building	building	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			8
Freemen with no occupations named			16
Total			24

1735

glazier	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
barber	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	4
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	3
woolcomber	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
druggist	professional	medical	1
cook	Service	Food/drink	1
Total of named occupations			20
Freemen with no occupations named			4
Total			24

1736

butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	15
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
lord	Gentry	Gentry	1
doctor of physick	Professional	medical	1
barber	Service	medical	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
Total of named occupations			25
Freemen with no occupations named			12
Total			37

1737

slater	building	building	1
plasterer	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	2
glazier	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	2
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	5
baronet	Gentry	Gentry	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	4
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
plumber	processing	Metal	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
clerk	Service	Service	1
barber	Service	medical	1

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
gardener	professional	luxury	1
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			7
Total			39

1738

carpenter	building	building	1
mason	building	building	2
slater	building	building	1
brickmaker	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cutler	Buying/Selling	metal	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
wheelwright	Making/Selling	wood	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	1
barber	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			15
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			15

1739

joiner	building	building	2
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
stationer	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
periwig maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
brazier	Making/Selling	metal	1
pewterer	Making/Selling	metal	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
tinplate worker	Processing	metal	1
currier	Processing	leather	1
barber	Service	medical	2
clerk	Service	Service	1
Total of named occupations			19
Freemen with no occupations named			6
Total			25

1740

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
slater	building	building	2
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	2
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	1
tallowchandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
tobacco cutter	Processing	luxury	1
staymaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
silkdyer	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
soapboiler	Processing	luxury	1
mariner	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			19
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			21

1741

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
bricklayer	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
bookseller	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
whitesmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
cabinetmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
upholsterer	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	3
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	3
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	7
yeoman	Gentry	rural	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
staymaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
druggist	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			32
Freemen with no occupations named			3
Total			35

1742

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
bricklayer	building	building	2
mason	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
plasterer	building	building	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	2
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
periwig maker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	2
hosier	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
currier	Processing	leather	1
silkweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
corkcutter	Processing	wood	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
surgeon barber	Service	medical	1
innholder	Service	Food/drink	1
gardener	Professional	luxury	1
Total of named occupations			24
Freemen with no occupations named			1
Total			25

1743

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
joiner	building	building	1
carpenter	building	building	1
slater	building	building	2
turner	building	building	1
glazier	building	building	1
mason	building	building	1
ironmonger	Buying/Selling	metal	1
tobacconist	Buying/Selling	luxury	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	12
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
tailor	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	4
cooper	Making/Selling	wood	2
coachmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
smith	Making/Selling	metal	1
pipemaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
cabinetmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
hosier	Making/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	4
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
vintner	Food/drink	luxury	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	6
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	2
hornbreaker	Processing	building	2
stuffweaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
tanner	Processing	leather	1
linencloth weaver	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
flaxdresser	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
writing master	Professional	Professional	1
barber	Service	medical	2
Total of named occupations			62
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			64

1744

slater	building	building	1
bricklayer	building	building	1
joiner	building	building	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
saddler	Making/Selling	leather	1
blacksmith	Making/Selling	metal	1
watchmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
fisherman	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
gentleman	Gentry	Gentry	2
yeoman	Gentry	rural	3
tanner	Processing	leather	1
feltmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	3
ironmonger	Processing	metal	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
druggist	Service	medical	1
clerk	Service	Service	2
Total of named occupations			28
Freemen with no occupations named			2
Total			30

1745

Occupation	Sector	Sub-Sector	Amount
carpenter	building	building	1
victualler	Buying/Selling	Food/drink	2
merchant	Buying/Selling	Buying/Selling	1
draper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
linendraper	Buying/Selling	clothing/textiles	1
cabinetmaker	Making/Selling	luxury	1
cordwainer	Making/Selling	leather	1
chandler	Making/Selling	candles	1
wetglover	Making/Selling	leather	1
brewer	Food/drink	Food/drink	2
baker	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
butcher	Food/drink	Food/drink	1
yeoman	Gentry	rural	2
esquire	Gentry	Gentry	2
maltster	Processing	Food/drink	1
patternmaker	Processing	clothing/textiles	1
apothecary	Professional	Professional	1
surgeon	Service	medical	1
Total of named occupations			22
Freemen with no occupations named			0
Total			22

Sources:

JHE Bennett, 'The Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester, Part 1 – 1392-1700' (Birkenhead, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1906) <<https://archive.org/details/rollsfreemencit00enggoog/page/n8>> [accessed 15-08-19];

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